THE NIKONIAN CHRONICLE

From the Year 1132-1240

(Volume Two)

Edited, Introduced and Annotated

by

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Translated

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PREFACE

In preparing this second volume of the English edition of *The Nikonian Chronicle* for publication, the translators have followed the same basic methods and rules which they used in the first volume. The English translation of the *Chronicle* adheres closely to the Russian original published in Volumes IX-XIII of *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei (Complete Collection of the Russian Chronicles,* further abbreviated as *PSRL*), which came out in St. Petersburg in 1862-1904 and was photographically reproduced in the 1960's by The Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. The original Russian text covering the period with which this volume deals—the years 1132 to 1240—is found in Volumes IX-X of the above cited *PSRL*.

From the historiographic point of view that era was one of the most intricate and difficult to follow in Russian history. The ruling dynasty, which succeeded in knitting the Eastern Slavic, or Russian, tribes into one powerful state and kept it united for almost three centuries, grew numerically. Each of its members now tried to carve out a domain—practically, an independent principality—for himself. These politically independent entities, however, were interdependent dynastically, ethnically, religiously and culturally. Their number grew rapidly and ever increasing conflict arose among brothers, cousins, nephews and uncles.

This complexity of the Russian political structure required more rechecking, explanation, footnotes and annotation than did the period covered in the first volume of *The Nikonian Chronicle*. To complement and explain them, the Editor provides in his Foreword to this present volume commentaries of a more general character concerning chronicle writing of that time, wherein he tries to point out and elucidate the difficulties with which both editors and compilers of *The Nikonian Chronicle* were obliged to cope. Some were due to the proliferation of chronicle writing, which sometimes produced contradictory, even chronologically inconsistent accounts of a single event.

In the Preface to the first volume, the translators acknowledged their debt to several institutions and persons whose support and advice was paramount in the translation of this chronicle and

for the preparation of this English edition. Now they would like, again, to express their gratitude to the National Endowment for the Humanities and the American Council of Learned Societies for the financial support of this work. Mention likewise is unavoidable here of the steady and cordial assistance of Dr. Susan Mango of the National Endowment for the Humanities, who, on many occasions, was most helpful to the translators in their relations with the Endowment. Many of the translators' American colleagues, and librarians, are gratefully remembered for their suggestions and counsel.

In the course of the Editor's research visit to Russia in 1979 he greatly benefitted from the advice of his Russian colleagues in Leningrad and Moscow—who on many occasions facilitated his work. Among them he is particularly indebted to Dr. Dmitry Likhachev, member of The Academy of Sciences and Head of the Sector on Old Russian Literature in the Academy's Institute of Russian Literature. Many of Dr. Likhachev's colleagues in this Sector also contributed their suggestions and were most helpful while this Editor was conducting his research work there. In Moscow, Dr. Boris Kloss and the late Professor A. A. Zimin, both of the Institute of History in the Academy, gave much of their time and assistance, invaluable for the study of Russian history and Russia's sixteenth-century chronicle writing, especially for *The Nikonian Chronicle.*

Again, the Editor wishes to thank Betty Jean Zenkovsky, his wife, research associate and co-translator, whose judgment and patience played a decisive role during the course of work on this English edition of *The Nikonian Chronicle.*

Serge A. Zenkovsky, Editor

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FOREWORD TO VOLUME II OF *THE NIKONIAN CHRONICLE*

The timespan of the second volume of the English edition of *The Nikonian Chronicle* 1132-1240, was characterized by three major developments in Russian history. One of them was a steady decline in economic and political power of the capital city of Kiev and the entire southern Russian region. The second important political process was the division of the united Russian state into a large number of *de facto* independent principalities, a phenomenon which became especially accelerated after the death of Mstislav the Great in 1132. The decline of the southern part of the Russian state and continuous feuds among the Russian princes finally led to the tragic end of the era when, in 1236-1240, the Mongol army invaded and conquered Russia. This conquest set back the cultural, economic and political development of the country for nearly two centuries.

The third important development of this pre-Mongol era was the spectacular growth of Russian culture. The beautiful churches of the Novgorodian and Suzdalian lands, the writing of the Kievan, Volynian and Novgorodian chronicles, the creation of the Lay of Prince Igor, of the Epistle of Daniel the Exile, the Paterikon of the Kievan Monastery, the Sermons of Cyril of Turov, and many other features bear witness to the blossoming of Russian culture. Strangely enough—but often, as it happens, in history—political and economic difficulties did not prevent the blossoming of cultural life. The achievements of the Russian masters of that time appear astonishingly mature.

I. DECLINE OF KIEV

Various factors, some purely physical—of geographic and climatic character—some purely political, contributed to the decline of Kiev and the southern lands of Russia. Kiev and other southern Russian lands were situated on the border of the forest and the

prairie, and the periodical changes in climate in these regions gravely influenced their economic and political life. The main determining influence for climatic changes in Eastern Europe and Western Asia in the plains stretching from the Carpathian Mountains on the Russian western border to the Altai and Central Siberia in the east were the west winds. These winds bring precipitation from the Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea to the European plain, and the periodical switch of the jet stream from the south to the north greatly influences vegetation and economy of the land. When these winds blow over the central and northern parts of European Russia they bring rain. At the same time, the southern prairie, deprived of precipitation, dries out, thus precluding the growth of stock and leading, finally, to the weakening of the power of the nomads. When, however, the winds—and with them, the precipitation—pass over the southern prairie the vegetation of their pastures grows very rich, feeds more of the nomads' herds, and leads to an increase of the power of the prairie empire. Concomitantly, however, the northern part of Eastern Europe becomes dry. Agriculture and husbandry suffer, and the bad harvest results in famine, a weakening and decrease of population.

The twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were a time of prevailing southerly winds which brought rain to the prairie, while dry weather was prevailing in middle Russia. These blossoming prairies with their growing herds were responsible for the increase of the power of the Polovets and in the twelfth century these Turkic nomads were able to push the line of Russian agricultural settlements northward. In the first part of the thirteenth century these rich prairies were responsible for the rise of the empire of Genghis Khan and his heirs. Their armies became extremely mobile on the green and rich pastures, which led finally to the appearance of the Mongols in Eastern Europe and to their conquest of Russia.[1] The city of Kiev, itself, as A. E. Presniakov pointed out, instead of being the center of south Russia, became just an advance fortified position—we may add, without an agricultural hinterland,[2] on the edge of the prairie. Commanding

1. Gumilev, L., "Rol' klimaticheskikh kolebanii v istorii Evrazii;" *Istoria S.S.S.R.*, 1967, Vol. I.

2. Presniakov, A. E., *Lektsii po russkoi istorii*, Vol. I, *Kievskaia Rus'*, M., 1938, p. 238.

the prairie in the lower course of the Dnieper river, the Polovetss were able to interfere with trade between Russia and Byzantium, contributing to the economic decline of Kiev and southern Russia.

Another factor for the decline of Russian trade and economy was the opening of direct mercantile routes between the Orient and Western Europe by the Crusaders, which still further worsened the situation of the Russian economy. In the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries a considerable part of trade between Asia and Western Europe went via Kiev—Regensburg (in southern Germany, on the Danube). Now, with the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders in 1099, a new maritime way between the Near East and European Mediterranean lands was opened. The Crusaders' Kingdom of Jerusalem and the other rich Latin fiefdoms, such as Antioch and Edessa, grew into important market places controlled by Venetians, Genoese and Pisans, who used a faster and more secure maritime trade route in supplying the West with products from the Orient. The Italian trade cities of Genoa, Pisa and, especially, Venice, now dominated most of the Oriental trade. The taking of Constantinople in 1204 by the Latin Knights of the First Crusade dealt the final blow to the role of Russia as a trade intermediary between the East and the West, between the Mediterranean lands and Scandinavia.

Already in 1159 before the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins a treaty between Byzantium and Genoa opened to Genoese merchants the markets of the entire Byzantium Empire, and in the thirteenth century they were able to establish their fortified trade colonies along the entire northern shore of the Black Sea. While Kafa, present Feodosia, Genoese mercantile capital on the Black Sea, was prospering, Kiev rapidly declined economically and became easy prey to the Mongols in 1240.

It is true that in the meantime Novgorod—protected from the nomads by the forests and marshes—preserved its mercantile contacts with the West, and became the main export and import center with Scandinavia and Germany until the mid-sixteenth century. Kiev, however, lost its importance and the older trade route from the Greeks to the Vikings, died forever.

II. THE BREAK UP INTO PRINCIPALITIES OF THE UNIFIED RUSSIAN STATE

Not only the climate and changing political-economic condi-

tions in the Near East after the beginning of the Crusades contributed to the downfall of Kiev and general political decline of the Russian lands. There were earlier occasions when the integrity of the Russian state broke down but those breaks were comparatively easily healed. Until the end of the reign of Iaroslav the Wise, Russia was a really unified state whose grand prince in Kiev ruled or controlled the entire Russian territory. This wise and experienced prince was, himself, responsible for many troubles which occurred after his passing. Before his death in 1054 Iaroslav the Wise, although urging his children to stay together and recognize the authority of the grand prince of Kiev, nonetheless divided his realm among his five surviving sons. The eldest, Iziaslav, received the prize city of Kiev with the adjacent southern region. The second in seniority among the surviving sons, Sviatoslav, got Chernigov (including Murom, Riazan' and distant Tmutarakan' in the Caucasus). The third, Vsevolod, became prince of Pereiaslavl' Russkii, located almost on the frontier of the Polovetss prairie (and, strangely enough, also, the extreme northeast of Russia—Suzdalia, the middle course of the Oka and the middle and upper courses of the Volga—generally, the present region of Moscow). The two junior sons, Viacheslav and Igor', became the rulers of the smaller principalities of Smolensk and Volynia.

Outside the limits of this, "Iaroslav's Russia," there still remained the region of Polotsk on the northeastern Russian-Polish frontier. In this principality of Polotsk there ruled the dynastic branch descending from Iziaslav, Iaroslav's elder brother, the son of Vladimir and Rogneda. To some extent, also, Novgorod and its extensive northern territory became semi-autonomous. The Charter of Iaroslav, which is often mentioned in the Novgorodian chronicle but was not preserved, apparently gave the Novgorodians the right to choose their own princes from among the members of the ruling dynasty. And at least formaly Novgorod was considered a land dependent upon the grand princes of Kiev.

The early death of Iaroslav's two younger sons, Viacheslav and Igor', left the power in the hands of the three senior surviving sons—Iziaslav, Sviatoslav and Vsevolod, who, in the words of A.E. Presniakov, formed a kind of triumvirate.[3] This triumvirate

3. Presniakov, A. E., *Kniazhskoe pravo drevnei Rusi*, St. Petersburg. 1909, pp. 43-45.

formally established a theoretically very judicious but, practically, extremely intricate and confusing system of succession. The original purpose of this system was to provide each of these three brothers the right to reign once in Kiev. Upon the death of the senior brother, the second in seniority would become the grand prince of Kiev, the third would assume the principality of the second, and the senior son of the deceased would move into the third's dominion, etc. Thus, instead of a vertical transmission of succession, common in the West, from father to senior son, this triumvirate provided for a rotating, horizontal system, from senior brother to the next in seniority, *ad infinitum*. Only after the extinction of the entire generation of Iaroslav's sons would the throne of Kiev come to the senior representative of the next generation—that is, to the senior son of Iziaslav. No legal monument determining these relations has been preserved, but the chronicle writers did provide in their works enough data to enable us to understand this system of rotations.

This manner of succession—which, in principle, allowed every member of the dynasty to be grand prince of Kiev—finally resulted in the complete disruption of the nation's peace and unity, and its disastrous consequences were felt in Russia as late as the fifteenth century. Indeed, the sons of a prince who would die before becoming grand prince of Kiev would be excluded from this succession. Feeling, nonetheless, that they still belonged to the dynasty, they would fight for a piece of the Russian territory, while some other lesser brother, instead of waiting for the demise of a senior brother, would attempt to seize the throne of Kiev by doing battle with the Kievan grand prince.

Iziaslav, himself Grand Prince of Kiev from 1054 to 1078, was once chased from Kiev by the populace, and on another occasion was dislodged from Kiev by his own brothers, Sviatopolk and Vsevolod. He managed to return to Kiev and, strangely enough, died fighting on the side of Vsevolod, whose rights he promised to protect. Iaroslav the Wise's second son, Sviatopolk, reigned shortly (1073-1076) during Iziaslav's exile, while Vsevolod reigned on the throne of Kiev for sixteen years (1078-1094).

After Vsevolod's death Iziaslav's son, Sviatopolk, was grand prince of Kiev for twenty years—from 1094 to 1114—thus following the rules of the original convention for the succession estab-

lished by the triumvirate of Iaroslav's sons. After Sviatopolk's death, however, the people of Kiev invited the capable and energetic Vladimir Monomakh, son of the late Vsevolod, to rule them, thus breaking the system of rotation. He ruled from 1114 to 1125. Vladimir Monomakh was followed by his own son, Mstislav the Great (1125-1132). Recognized as the most brilliant Russian ruler after Iaroslav the Wise, Vladimir Monomakh was able to control the entire Russian territory, including the principalities of Polotsk and Novgorod. For Monomakh, indeed, possessed a strong will, was tough and combined wisdom with experience and an understanding of human nature.[4] Monomakh succeeded in halting the internal dynastic squabbles, in establishing peace throughout the Russian land and in inflicting several decisive defeats upon the Polovetss, who roamed all the steppe north of the Black Sea and whose inroads were threatening not only southern but even central Russian areas. Mstislav, who received an excellent political tutoring under his father, Monomakh, and who commanded broad experience in dealing with the princes, city assemblies, boyars and with Novgorod, adhered to his father's example and a certain dynastic unity endured until his-death, with its concomitant internal peace.

Iaroslav's division of the country among his sons, however, had another fatal result. The descendants of his sons considered their patrimonies the hereditary domain of their dynastic branch, and they would fight at the same time for Kiev so as to acquire political prestige and economic power. The political life of all Russia was thus a constant conflict between two completely contradictory principles of succession: the one established by the triumvirate of the sons of Iaroslav the Wise and the other involving inheritance of a father's principality by his son. In 1097 all the members of the dynasty convened in Liubech, where it was decided that each prince would retain his own patrimony! That is, that the princes and their descendants would keep the lands of their fathers, therewith not only breaking and contradicting, but not voiding, the original principle of rotation among the brothers.

This legal absurdity could result only in endless conflicts and

4. Monomakh's *Instruction to his Sons* and his letters, preserved in *Laur.*, testify to his brilliant and patient mind. See *Povest' vremennykh let*, M., 1952, Vol. I, pp. 153-167; and D. Likhachev, *Commentaries*, Vol. II, pp. 425-457.

uninterrupted feuds. The princes tried at one and the same time to keep their own patrimonies, to become grand prince in Kiev, and, eventually, to add to their domains whatever territories they could conquer or acquire in the most reckless way.

Among Iaroslav's descendants two branches became of paramount importance. One was the line of descendants from Iaroslav's son, Sviatoslav, who reigned shortly in Kiev from 1073 to 1076 and whose children and grandchildren—better known after Sviatoslav's son, Oleg, as "Ol'govichs"—became solidly entrenched in Chernigov and the adjacent lands of Riazan' and Murom.

Another branch, the descendants of Iaroslav's son, Vsevolod—usually known after Vsevolod's son, Vladimir Monomakh, as "Monomashichs"—were never as cohesive as the Ol'govichs. This is not really surprising because the Monomashichs were scattered throughout various parts of Russia. One line of Monomashichs, descending from Monomakh's senior son, Mstislav, and the latter's son, Rostislav, entrenched itself in the Smolensk land. The other line issued from Monomakh's son, Iziaslav, and his grandson, Mstislav, and it became the dominant power in Volynia and, later, in Galicia, under Roman Mstislavovich (died 1205) and his son, Daniil (died 1266). The descendants of Monomakh's junior son, Iurii Dolgorukii, settled at first in Pereiaslavl' (Russkii), fought for Kiev but finally secured in their hands extreme northeastern Russia on the middle course of the Volga and Oka (now, usually known as the Moscow region), where their main center came to be the city of Vladimir.

These main branches and the junior ones, in their turn, would in the successive generations divide their patrimonies, and so the number of principalities increased rapidly every decade. Still, the princes would move readily from one principality to another.

A good example of this confused mobility is the political life of Oleg Sviatoslavovich, mentioned above. When his father, Sviatoslav, was in Kiev (1073-1076) Oleg became Prince of Vladimir in Volynia (1073-1076). After his father died Oleg was driven out from there but he took over the extreme southeastern Russian domain, that of Tmutarakan' in the Caucasus. In 1079 at the instigation of Byzantine authorities he was captured by

Khazars, turned over to Constantinople and was interned on the island of Rhodos. Returning to Russia in 1094, he seized Chernigov, where he stayed two years; and he ended his life in Novgorod-Seversk. No less mobile was Mstislav Udaloi (Mstislav the Daring), who was a prince of Toropets in 1206, moving from there to Novgorod, where he was elected ruler by the Novgorodians in 1210. Thus, he became Prince of Novgorod. In 1214 he intervened in Kievan affairs and set Mstislav Romanovich on the throne of Kiev. In 1216 he defeated the Suzdalian princes on the river Lipets, commanding the Novgorodian army. He departed Novgorod in 1218, moved into Volynia and Galicia, defeated the Hungarians, and became Grand Prince of Galicia in the extreme southwestern corner of Russia.

The large number of princes with the same name and the same patronymic often causes difficulties in identifying a person whose deeds the chronicler is discussing. For instance, under the year 6687 (1179) we read in *The Nikonian Chronicle*, "In Easter Week in Novgorod Prince Mstislav Rostislavovich, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, passed away. He was buried in the chapel of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in the burial grave built by Vladimir Iaroslavovich." Then we read in the following sentence, "The same year Prince Mstislav Rostislavovich mustered 20,000 Novgorodians and went campaigning in the Chud' land." This reading seems to be a contradiction or absence of sequence in the description of events. The truth, however, is simpler. Mstislav Rostislavovich of the second sentence was not the same as the one of the first sentence. The first belonged to the Suzdalian branch of Monomashichs. The second was from the Smolensk line of Monomashichs, and it was sheer coincidence that after the death of one Mstislav Rostislavovich the Novgorodians invited another one to rule them. Such puzzles are frequent in the chronicles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The number of princes was very large. The number of clan names was very limited. Therefore in many cases it is difficult to grasp at once without additional research about which prince the chronicler was speaking.

III. NEW POLITICAL CENTERS

Under pressure of the Polovetss a considerable part of the

south Russian population migrated to the west and northwest, trying to escape the raids of the nomads. On the eve of the Mongolian invasion the Russians were ready to break through the barriers of the only organized urban state of the middle Volga, that of the Volga Bulgars. The devastation of the Russian lands by the invading armies of Genghis Khan's heirs delayed the Russian advance to the east and instead of in the thirteenth century, only in the sixteenth—in 1551—was the former Bulgar bastion, now "Tatar" Kazan', taken and the road to Russian colonization of the Trans-Volga region and of the east opened.

The names of the northern cities, especially in the Suzdalian land—such as Vladimir, Pereiaslavl' and Galich—clearly show where their founders and settlers came from. They came from southern Russia, where they ruled or lived in cities with the same names.

While Kiev was declining, new political centers were steadily developing in regions better protected from the attacks of the Polovetss. Their political structure was far from being similar although nearly everywhere the princes were members of the same dynasty. (In the land of Viatich there were apparently local princely families not connected with the dynasty of the descendants of Iaroslav the Wise.) Still, in some regions the princes' power grew stronger. In others there developed a rather powerful class of landed aristocracy or merchant oligarchy. The principalities were practically independent since the power of the Grand Prince of Kiev became just a fiction, and the power of the princes of Vladimir and Suzdalia, despite the successes of Andrei Bogoliubskii and Vsevolod Great Nest, was still in the process of consolidation.

Novgorod became the dominant power in the north. Its trade with Scandinavia and Germany was growing and the merchant aristocracy dominated its political scene. The role of the prince was reduced to commanding the army during wartime and to some indefinite matters of justice. Few princes ruled for more than a few years, and although most of them thereafter were asked to leave Novgorod, some—for instance, Prince Iaroslav Vladimirich, who was cast out from Novgorod in 1184[5] for alledged mischievous behavior—were again invited to be prince

5. *Novg. Syn.*, p. 32.

there. In the case of Prince Iaroslav Vladimirich, he was ejected again in 1196 and invited for the third time in 1197. In 1199 he left this city-republic, finally, forever. The same fate befell most of the princes of capricious Novgorod.

Thus, inviting a prince for a short time and ejecting him after a few years, sometimes even the same year, became "a long-lasting tradition" of Novgorod, as the compiler of *The Nikonian Chronicle* mentioned in 1186. The only difference in the princes' fates was that at times they were invited and cast out by the merchant-boyar oligarchy, at other times they were dismissed by the turbulent *veche*, behind which there was still, probably, a boyar faction.

Hardly easier was the condition of the princes in southwestern Galich. The power of the boyars, mostly landed aristocracy, was very strong there, and most of the princes of Galich had to fight the unruly power-seeking local leaders of the oligarchy. In 1212, according to *Nik.* (1208, according to *Hyp.*), when the king of Hungary occupied Galich, the boyars asked the Hungarians to turn over to them their three princes, Roman, Sviatoslav and Rostislav Igorevich, whom they had previously invited to rule Galich. Thereupon they hanged all three of them. In other lands of twelfth-century Russia such expulsion and murder of princes were rare and isolated instances, as, for instance, the murder of Andrei Bogoliubskii in 1175 (according to *Nik.*) by boyars. His brother, Vsevolod, met strong opposition among the entrenched boyars of Rostov and Suzdal', and even had to campaign against them.

IV. PRESERVATION OF THE CULTURAL AND ETHNIC UNITY OF PRE-MONGOL RUSSIA

The division of the unified Russian state into a considerable number of practically independent principalities did not affect the ethnic, cultural and religious unity of the country. As it was pointed out herein before, the princes moved easily from one part of the country to another, from the north to the south, and vice versa. Novgorod invited and accepted princes from Kiev, Suzdalia, Smolensk and Chernigov. Galich got its rulers sometimes from Novgorod (Mstislav Toropetskii), sometimes from Chernigov (the Igorevichs), and sometimes from Kiev. A prince of Polotsk ruled in Kiev. Such mobility and acceptance of princes was

possible not only because they belonged to the same dynsty but also because the ethnic, cultural and religious features of the population was about the same in all parts of Russia. Although the style of the chronicles is different in Novgorod, Kiev, Galich, Volynia and Suzdal', the language is the same despite some minor linguistic peculiarities. The southern chronicles written in Kiev, Pereiaslavl', Volynia and Galich were continued and preserved only in the north because the south became overrun by the Tatars and Poles. Even after the Mongol invasion the Russian metropolitans of southwestern origin would go to the northeast seeking the protection of northern princes, and would finally settle there, practically transferring the Metropolitan See from the south to the north. This was done by Metropolitans Cyril (1249-1281) and Peter (1308-1326). In the latter fourteenth century Metropolitan Alexis, the son of a Chernigov boyar, became the regent of young Dmitrii of Moscow, later known as "Donskoi."

A still more conclusive demonstration of the unity of the country and migration of the population from south to north are the heroic epics. The southern epics, which glorify the time of Vladimir, Christianizer of Russia, the struggle with the nomads and the power of Kiev, have been preserved primarily in northern Russia, where they were brought by the settlers from the south. Together with these epics and chronicles, the rest of Russian literature and cultural heritage of the Kievan time continued to develop in the northern regions of Novgorod and Suzdalia, thus maintaining the continuity of the Russian historical tradition and Russian culture.

V. CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS OF THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

The division of Russia into a large number of principalities and the expansion of chronicle writing creates a number of considerable problems of a chronological nature. In those centuries there were several centers where chronicles were written: Kiev, Novgorod, Pereiaslavl', Vladimir in Volynia, Galich and Suzdal'. In the Introduction to *The Nikonian Chronicle* in Volume I of this English edition it was pointed out that there were three different calendars in Russia at that time: the Byzantine, which started the new year on September 1; the old Russian calendar, which began

the new year on March 1 *following* the Byzantine September year; and the new Russian calendar, the "Ultra-March" one, in which the new year commenced March 1 *before* the Byzantine September New Year. It was also pointed out that there were several systems for calculating the era, dealing primarily with the period between the Biblical time of the creation of the world and the birth of Christ. (For details, see *Section V, Puzzles of the Calendar and Chronology*, in the Introduction to Volume I of this English edition.) Now, chronology became still more complicated, most probably because the news about some events would be delayed in going from one part of Russia to another, and thus be erroneously dated.

Using dated sources from a chronicle or document written in a region or city with a different calendar system, the chronicle writers involuntarily misdated their information. In preparing the present English edition, the Editor has tried as far as possible to provide next to the date in *The Nikonian Chronicle* also the dates of the events as they were recorded in the *Hypatian, Laurentian* or *Novgorodian* chronicles. This does not, however, necessarily clarify or establish the exact year of the event.

Let us take, for instance, the date of the death of Prince Roman of Galich. According to the *Volynian Chronicle* and its preserved version in the *Hypatian,* Roman died in 6709 (1201). In the *Laurentian* his death is given in the entry under the year 6714 (1206). The compiler of *Nik.* dates Roman's death with the year 6713 (1205). M. Grushevskii, on the basis of an inscription in a church, also believes that Roman died in 1205; but how can we be sure that the person who made this inscription was well informed? And so it goes with many other happenings in twelfth-century Russian history. The taking of Kiev by a coalition of southern, northern and western princes, according to *Hyp.* and *Nik.*, took place in 6678 (1170). In *Laur.*, however, this same event is dated 6676 (1168). Thus, strangely enough, *Nik.'s* dating of the event coincides with *Hyp.* and not with *Laur.*, which, according to most students of *Nik.*, was one of *Nik.'s* main sources. B. Kloss, *Nik.'s* latest investigator, also believes that *Nik.'s* source is very close to *Laur.* and *Troitsk.* Comparing, however, the dates of *Nik.* and *Hyp.*, we may come to the conclusion that the compilers of *Nik.* definitely had at hand some material of the *Hypatian* type of historical writing.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS
#1. Bibliographical
(For libraries and mss., see #2, following.)

(This is not a complete Bibliography. That will appear in the final volume of this English edition of *The Nikonian Chronicle*. Additional bibliographical information can be found in the footnotes.)

Artamonov	Artamonov, M.I., *Istoriia Khazar*, The Hermitage, Leningrad, 1952.
Abramovich	Abramovich, D.I., ed., *Zhitiia sv. muchenikov Borisa i Gleba i sluzhby im*, Petrograd, 1916.
Berezhkov	Berezhkov, N.G., *Khronologiia russkogo letopisaniia*, AN, Moscow, 1963.
Bréhier	Bréhier, L., *La vie et la mort de Byzance*, Albin Michel, Paris, 1969.
Dal'	Dal', V., *Tolkovyi slovar' zhivogo velikorusskogo iazyka*, Gos. Izdat. Inost. i Nats. slovarei, Moscow, 1956.
Dmitriev	Dmitriev, L., *Zhiteinye povesti russkogo severa*, AN, Leningrad, 1973.
Dmitrieva	Dmitrieva, R., *Bibliografiia russkogo letopisaniia*, AN, Moscow-Leningrad, 1962.
Galician Chr.	*Galitskaia letopis'*, part of *Hyp.*, *PSRL*, Vol. 2.
Hyp.	*Ipatievskaia letopis'*, *PSRL*, Vol. 2.
Ioasaf. Chr.	*Ioasafovskaia letopis'*, Moscow, 1950.
Kartashev	Kartashev, A.V., *Ocherki po istorii russkoi tserkvi*, Paris, 1959, Vols. I and II.
Kievan Chr.	*Kievskaia letopis'*, part of *Hyp.*, *PSRL*, Vol. 2.
Kloss	Kloss, B., *Nikonovskii svod i russkoe letopisanie XVI-XVII v.*, Nauka, Moscow, 1980.
Khronograph	*Khronograph 1512*, *PSRL*, Vol. 22.
Kuz'min	Kuz'min, L.G., *Nachal'nye etapy drevne russkogo letopisaniia*, Izdat. Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1977.
Laptev	*Laptevskii* volume of *Litsevoi svod.*
Laur.	*Lavrentievskaia letopis'*, *PSRL*, v. 1.
Likhachev	Likhachev, D.S., ed. and commentaries, *Povest' vremennykh let*, AN, Moscow, 1950, Vols. I-II.

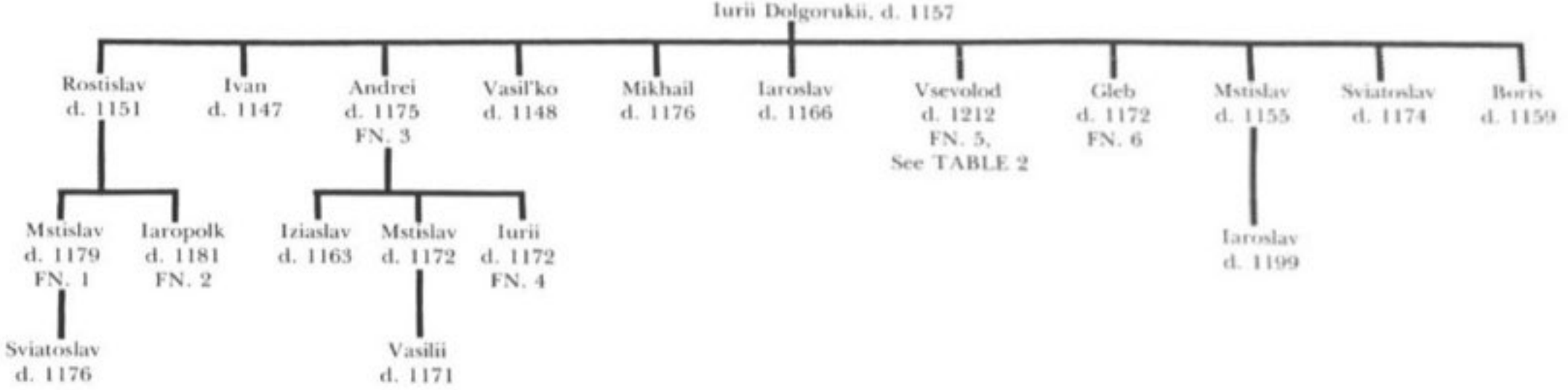
Likhachev, *Letopisi*	Likhachev, D.S., *Russkoe letopisanie*, AN, Moscow-Leningrad, 1957.
Likhachev, *Nasledie*	Likhachev, D.S., *Velikoe nasledie*, Sovremennik, Moscow, 1975.
Migne	Migne, J.P., *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Series Graeca, Paris, 1860 H., Vol. 102, 105.
Musc. Late 15th C.	*Muskovskii letopisnyi svod kontsa piatnadtsatogo veka*, *PSRL*, Vol. 25.
Musc. Late 15th C., Abbr.	*Sokrashchennye moskovskie letopisnye svody kontsa 15-go veka*, *PSRL*, Vol. 27.
Nasonov	Nasonov, A.N., *Istoriia russkogo letopisaniia*, Moscow, 1969.
Nik.	*Patriarshaia ili Nikonovskaia letopis'*, *PSRL*, Vols. 9-13.
Nik. Galits.	*Galitsynskii* vol. of *Litsevoi svod.*
Novg. Kom. and *Novg. Syn.*	*Novgorodskaia pervaia letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950.
Novg. Chr.	*Novgorodskaia letopis'* in *PSRL*, Vol. 3-4.
Pashuto	Pashuto, V.T., *Vneshniaia politika drevnei Rusi*, Nauka, Moscow, 1968.
Ocherki istorii SSSR	Published by AN SSSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1956-1957. 9 vols.
Prim. Chron.	The Primary Chronicle; see Likhachev.
PSRL	*Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei (Complete collection of the Russian Chronicles)*, 1841—, AN Moscow, Vols. 1-34.
Roty	Roty, Martine, *Dictionnaire Russe-Français des Termes en Usage dans l'Eglise Russe*, Institut d'Etudes Slaves, Paris, 1980.
Rogozh. let.	*Rogozhskaia letopis'*, publ. in *PSRL*, Vol. 15.
Simeon. Chr.	*Simeonovskaia letopis'*, *PSRL*, Vol. 18.
Soloviev	Soloviev, S.M., *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen*, Moscow, 1959-1966, Vols. 1-30.
Sreznevskii	Sreznevskii, I.I., *Materialy dlia slovaria drevnerusskogo iazyka*, Vols. 1-3, St. Petersburg, 1893-1912.
Suzd.	*Suzdal'skaia Akademicheskaia letopis'*, see *Laur*, *PSRL*, Vol. 1.
TODRL	*Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury*, AN SSSR, Vols. 1-34, Leningrad, 1932.

Tvorogov	Tvorogov, O.B., *Drevnerusskie khronografy*, AN, Leningrad, 1975.
Tver'. Sbornik	*Tver'skoi sbornik* in *PSRL*, Vol. 15.
Ustiuzh. Chr.	*Ustiuzhskii letopisnyi svod*, AN, Moscow, 1950.
Vasiliev, A.A.	Vasiliev, A.A., *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Univ. of Wisc. Press, 1958, Vols. 1-2.
Volynian Chr.	*Volynskaia letopis'*, part of *Hyp.*, *PSRL*, Vol. 2.
Vernadsky	Vernadsky, G., and M. Karpovich, *A History of Russia*, Vols. I-V, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1953.
Vladimir. let.	*Vladimirskii letopisets*, *PSRL*, Vol. 30.
Zenkovsky	Zenkovsky, S., *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles and Tales*, 2nd rev. ed., E.P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1969.
Zimin	Zimin, A.A., Introduction to *Ioasafovskaia letopis'*, see above.

HOUSE OF SUZDALIA

Table 1.

Lineage of Iurii Dolgorukii, son of Vladimir Monomakh (Suzdal', Rostov, Vladimir, Moscow, Tver' and other Branches of the Monomakhovichs. See Tables 8 and 9 in Volume 1.)



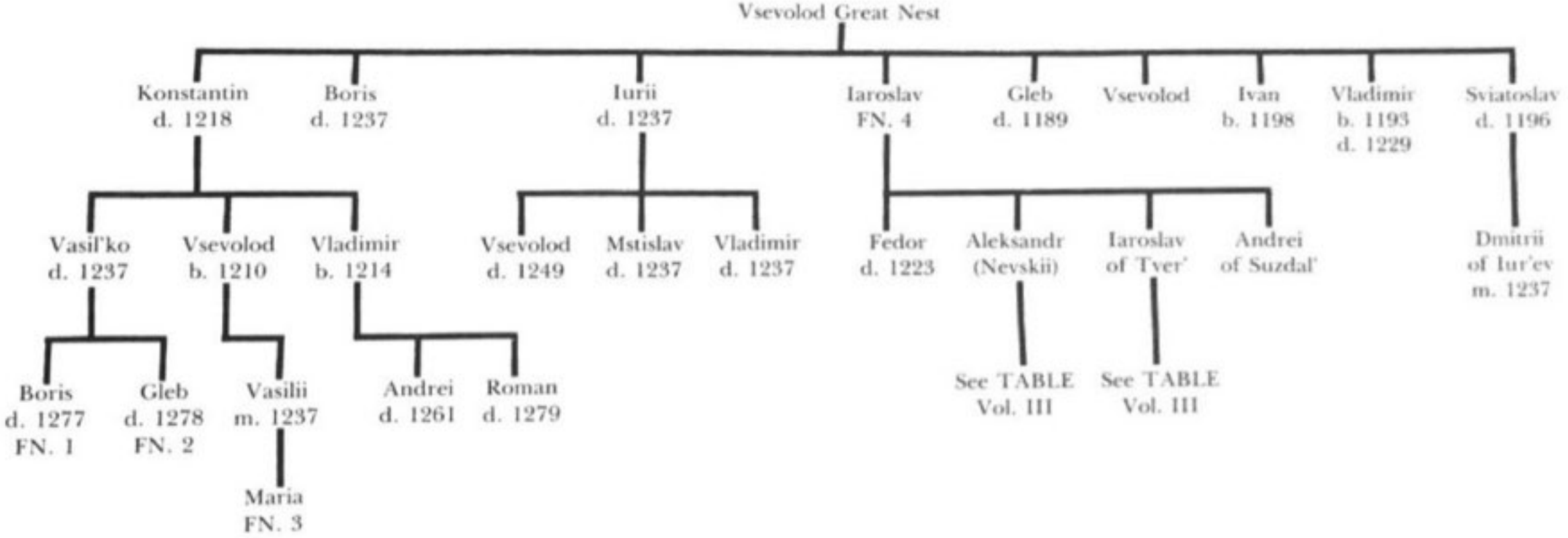
FN. 1. Prince of Rostov, 1175, 1177; and of Novgorod, 1176, 1177-1179.
FN. 2. Prince of Vladimir, 1175; of Torzhok, 1178; of Novgorod, 1179.
FN. 3. Andreii Bogoliubskii, Gr. Prince of Vladimir, 1157-1175.
FN. 4. Husband of Tamara, Queen of Georgia.
FN. 5. Vsevolod Great Nest
FN. 6. Gleb Iurievich of Pereiaslavl'; of Kiev, 1170-1172. He was apparently poisoned by Kievan boiars.

HOUSE OF SUZDAL'

Table 2.

Lineage of Vsevolod Great Nest

(See also, Table 1 of this volume, and Table 8 of Volume I.)



FN. 1. Prince of Rostov

FN. 2. Prince of Belozero

FN. 3. Maria married Fedor Rostislavich Chernyi of Smolensk. *Became founder of the Iaroslav branch of the dynasty.*

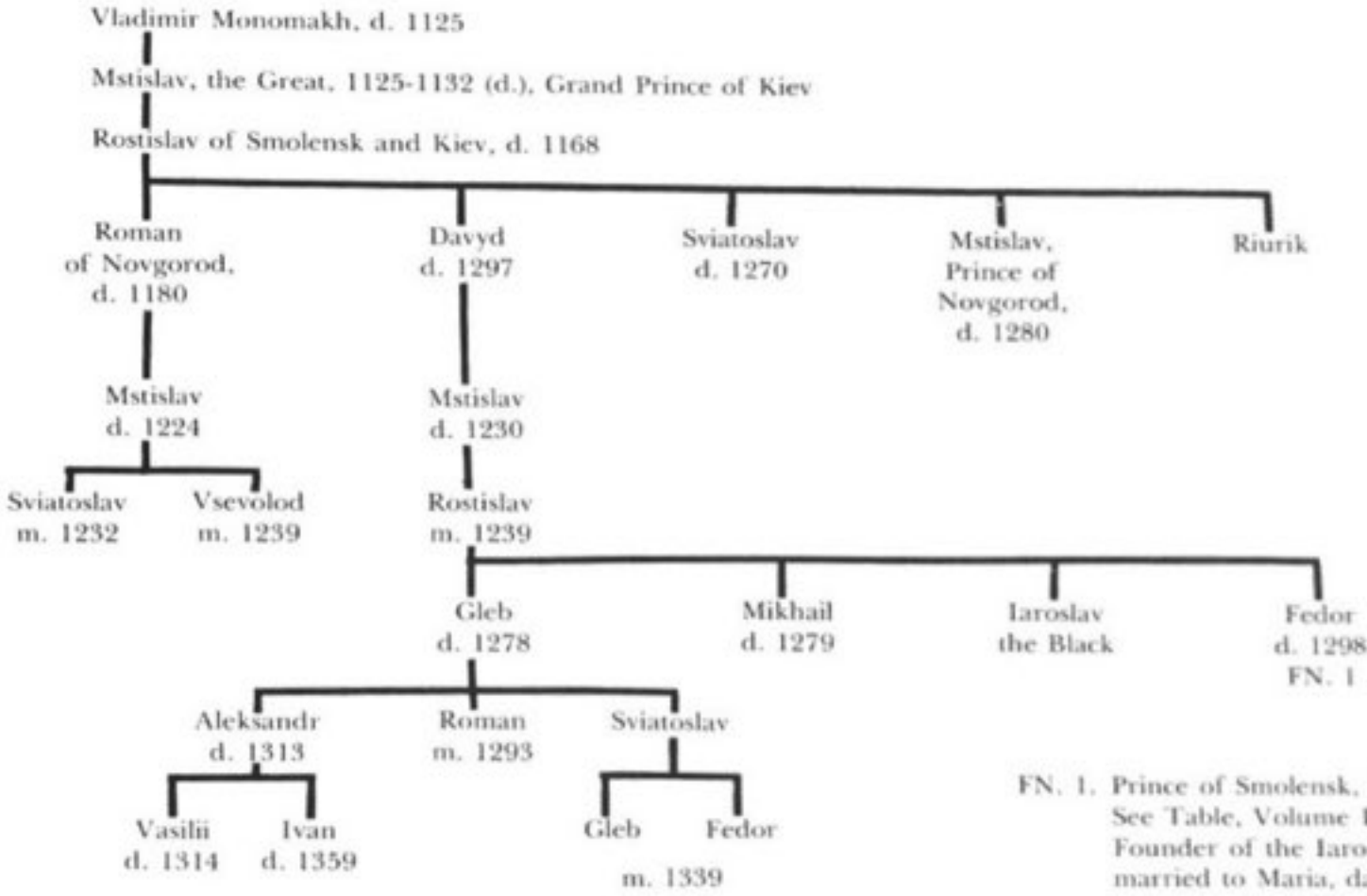
FN. 4. Iaroslav had also five other sons: Konstantin, *Afanasii, Daniil, Mikhail, and Vasilii (see Nik., 1237).*

HOUSE OF SMOLENSK

Table 3.

Lineage of Rostislav Mstislavich, Grandson of Vladimir Monomakh.

(See Table 9 in Volume I.)



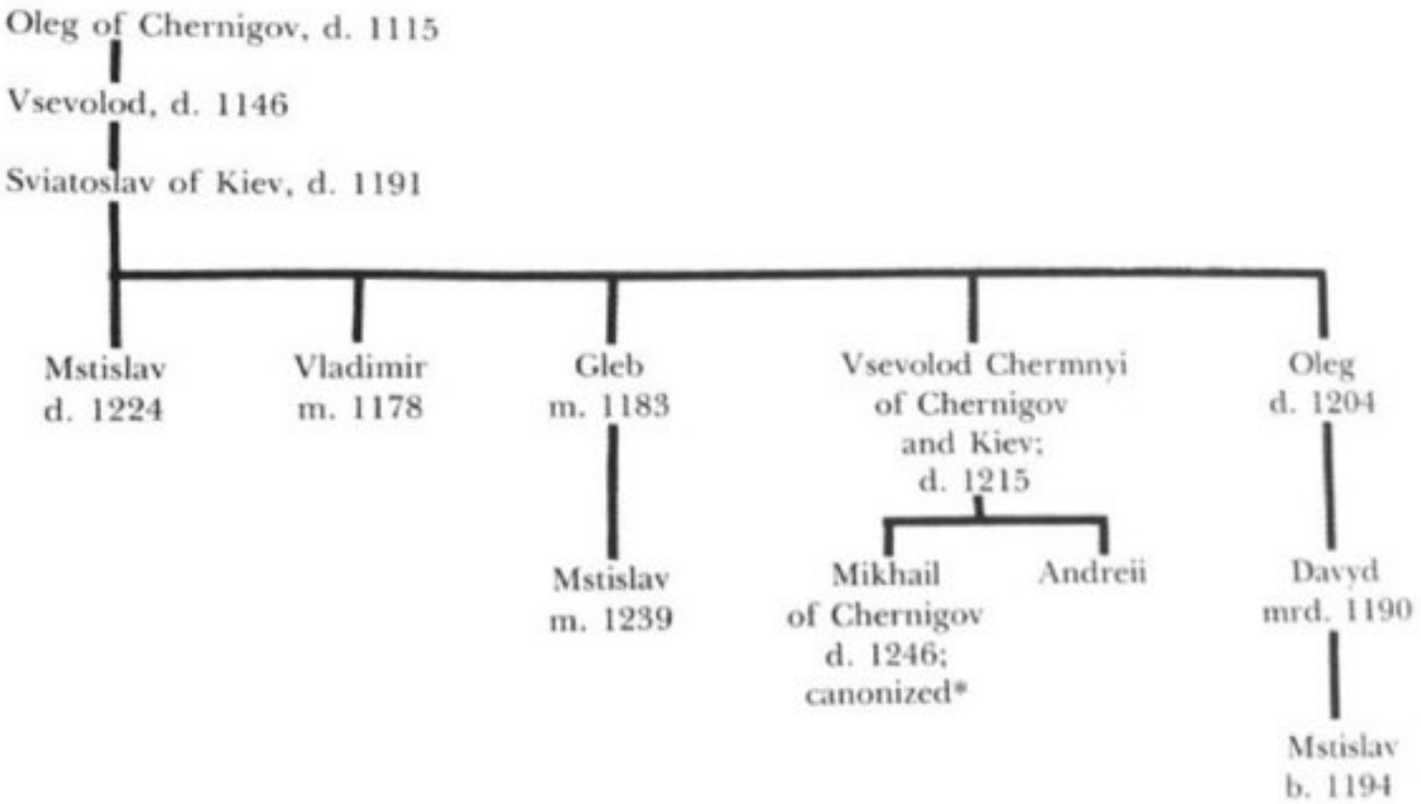
FN. 1. Prince of Smolensk, Mozhaisk; later, of Iaroslavl'. See Table, Volume III, and table 2 in this volume. Founder of the Iaroslavl' lines of the Russian princes; married to Maria, daughter of Vasilii, prince of Iaroslavl'.

HOUSE OF CHERNIGOV (THE OL'GOVICHS)

Table 4.

Lineage of Oleg Sviatoslavich (Gorislavich), Grandson of Iaroslav the Wise

(For additional details, see also Table 4 in Volume I.)

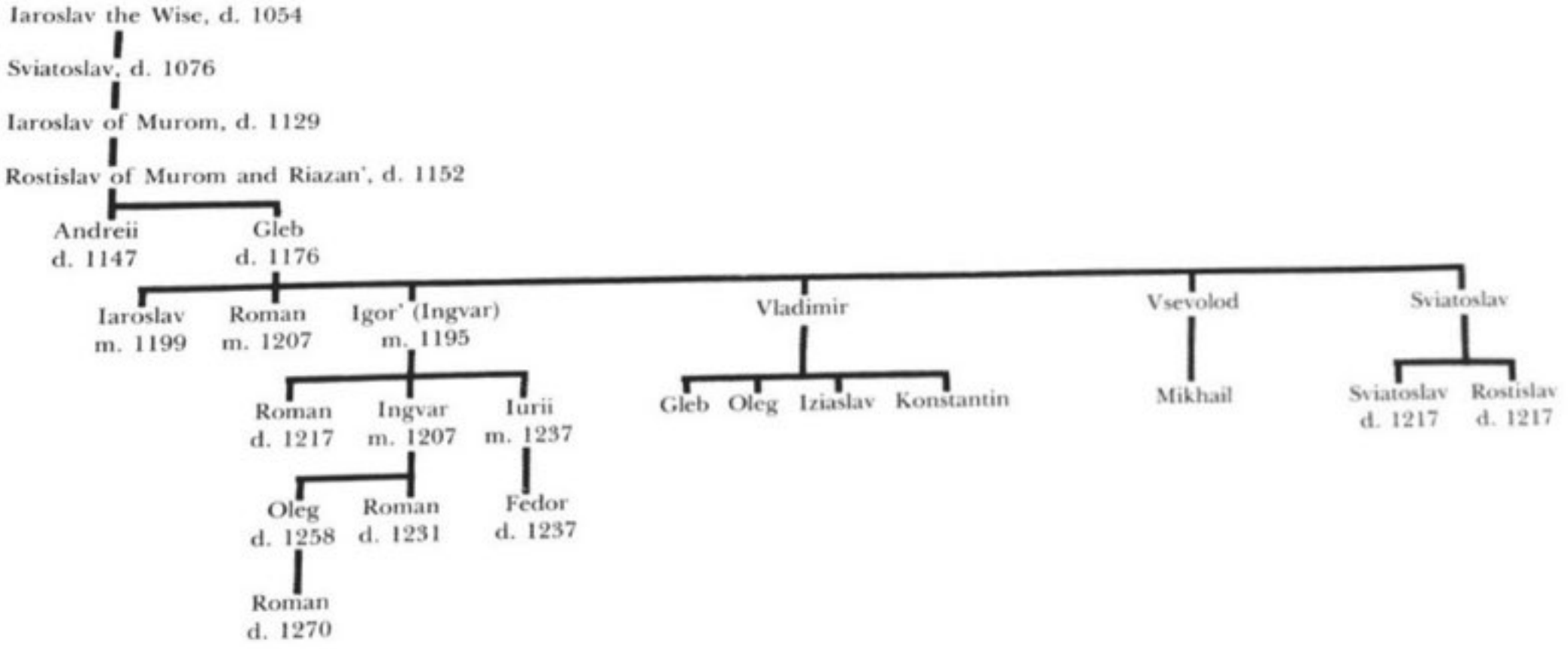


*The further lineage of Mikhail of Chernigov is not quite certain despite the traditional attribution of his ancestry to very numerous Russian princely families.

Table 5.

Lineage of Rostislav Iaroslavich, Grandson of Sviatoslav, Son of Iaroslav the Wise

(See Table 7 of Volume I for additional lineages.)



THE NIKONIAN CHRONICLE

THE REIGN OF IAROPOLK VLADIMIRICH IN KIEV 1132

The same year [6640(1132)] after the passing of Mstislav Vladimirovich [the Great][1] his brother, Iaropolk Vladimirich-Monomashich, ascended to the throne of the Grand Principality of Kiev, because the people of Kiev sent for him. The same year Iaropolk Vladimirich-Monomashich brought [Prince] Vsevolod Mstislavich, son of his [late] brother, from Novgorod to Kiev. And after keeping him for a short time with himself, he gave him Pereiaslavl', according to the pledge on the cross given by him to his [late] brother, Mstislav Vladimirovich; also, he did this according to the behest of their father, who had given Pereiaslavl' to him and to Mstislav. Vsevolod Mstislavich came to Pereiaslavl' on Sunday after matins to begin ruling there; but the same day before dinner his other uncle, [Prince] Iurii [Vladimirich][2] came with [Prince] Sviatopolk[3] and chased him from Pereiaslavl', where they committed many murders. He [Iurii Vladimirich-Monomashich] ruled only eight days in Pereiaslavl' [because] his brother Iaropolk sent a strong army against him, observing his pledge on the cross [regarding the order of the succession within the dynasty], and forced him to relinquish Pereiaslavl'.

In accordance with his pledge on the cross, as we said earlier, he sent to Pereiaslavl' Iziaslav Mstislavich, the son of his late brother, Mstislav, while he assigned another nephew, Vsevolod

1. Mstislav left five sons: Vsevolod, Iziaslav, Rostislav, Sviatopolk, Vladimir. He was survived by four brothers: Iaropolk, Viacheslav, Iurii and Andrei.

2. Iurii (Vladimirich):later called "Dolgorukii," founder of the north-eastern, Suzdalian—later, Muscovite—branch of the Russian dynasty.

3. Sviatopolk, son of the late Grand Prince Mstislav.

1133 Mstislavich, in Novgorod. After receiving an oath of fealty he sent his brother, Iurii Vladimirich, to Polotsk. On Our Lady's Day the latter, however, left his brother, Sviatopolk, in Polotsk[4] and went [again] to Pereiaslavl' [Russkii] [to chase from thence Prince] Iziaslav Mstislavich, [who had been sent thither by Grand Prince Iaropolk.] [In the meantime] the people of Polotsk cast out his nephew, Sviatopolk, from Polotsk and invited [as prince] Vasil'ko Sviatoslavich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh.[5]

Iaropolk, Grand Prince of Kiev, seeing the injustice of his kin, was aghast and gave [the principality] of Pereiaslavl' to his brother, Viacheslav Vladimirich-Monoashich. With great difficulty he removed his nephew, Iziaslav Mstislavich, from Pereiaslavl', consoling him not to grieve about anything. He told him, "I will give you everything that was promised."

The same winter Iaropolk summoned all his brothers, telling them not to harm the sons of their brother; and, weeping, he said, "Brothers! This life is vain and all passes away! Where are our fathers, grandfathers and forefathers? Have they not died? And so will we, and all of us will receive retribution according to our deeds."

And he gave his brother's son, Iziaslav Mstislavich, [the principalities of] Turov, Drochev and Pinsk, in addition to [the principality of] Minsk, [Iziaslav's] original dominion, because Minsk was all that remained under his rule. Iaropolk also gave him a multitude of gifts: pearls, gold, silver, horses and armour, and honored him greatly, letting him go to the aforementioned city.[6]

The same year the Polovets prince, Amurat, was baptised in Riazan'.

In the year 6641[1133]. Prince Iaropolk of Kiev sent his nephew, Iziaslav Mstislavich, to Novgorod to obtain tribute from them as of old, and [also] from Smolensk and Dunaisk; and they made peace and gave a pledge on the cross.

In the same year Viacheslav, son of Vladimir Monomakh, left Pereiaslavl', going as far as Gorodets, and then returned to Pereiaslavl'. The same year Viacheslav went to Riazan'. The same

4. Incorrect—Sviatopolk Mstislavich was his brother's son.

5. Incorrect: Vasil'ko Sviatoslavich was from the Polotsk line of princes and was the grandson of Vseslav, "the Magician."

6. This text differs from both *Laur.* and *Hyp.*

year Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich marched with Novgorodians against the Chud' and took the city of Iur'iev.[7] **1134**

In the year 6642 [1134]. On January sixth Bishop Marcellus of Pereiaslavl' passed away.

The same year Prince Viacheslav Volodimirich came from Riazan' to Periaslavl' and [Grand Prince] Iaropolk Volodimirich of Kiev sent to him, saying, "Abide in peace and do not become distrubed. Do not follow these Polovets customs." Viacheslav, however, paid no heed to his brother, Iaropolk Volodimirich, and marched to Turov. The same year Prince Iurii Volodimirich[8] laid the foundation of a fortress at the mouth of the river Nerl' where it joins the Volga; and he gave it the name, "Constantine," building a church there. He built many stone churches in his domain of Suzdal'.

In the year 6643 [1135]. Prince Iurii Volodimirich [Dolgorukii] asked for and received from his brother, [Grand] Prince Iaropolk Volodimirich, the principality of Pereiaslavl', while [Grand Prince] Iaropolk received Suzdal', Rostov and his other domains, but not all of them. The same year Iziaslav [Mstislavich] marched to Minsk and from thence to his brother [Vsevolod] in Novgorod, making alliance with his kinsmen, the Ol'govichs, and with the Davydovichs; and they all prepared for war. Then Vsevolod Mstislavich went again to Novgorod, while Iziaslav remained on the Volok. Learning that Grand Prince Iaropolk of Kiev was marching with his brothers, Iurii and Andrei, to Chernigov, he also marched thither. And so the Ol'govichs started a war against the Monomakhovichs.[9] When Grand Prince Iaropolk of Kiev came to Chernigov with his brothers, Iurii and Andrei, against the kin of Oleg, he did not reach the city of Chernigov. For twenty days he camped there, and returned home in the month of November.

The same winter the Ol'govich princes campaigned together

7. Now, Tartu.

8. Also a son of Monomakh, Prince Iurii Volodimirich, as mentioned above, was usually designated "Dolgorukii" ("Longarmed").

9. In this feud three of Monomakh's sons—Iaropolk of Kiev, Iurii Dolgorukii of Suzdalia, and Andrei of Volynia—fought against the alliance of their own nephews, Iziaslav Mstisalvich and Vsevolod Mstislavich, who were supported by the Ol'govichs and the Davydovichs—descendants of Sviatoslav, son of Iaroslav the Wise. This was the first break in the previously stable coalition of Monomakh's descendants.

1135 with the Polovetss and took the city of Nezhatin. They burned other towns and also took Baruch, which they burned as well. They captured many prisoners.

The same winter on the tenth of the month of December when Holy Martyrs Minas, Hermogen and Eugraphius are remembered, there was a thunderstorm.[10]

The same winter [Grand] Prince Iaropolk of Kiev mobilized the Kievan troops while his brother, Iurii Volodimirich, mobilized those of Pereiaslavl', and they stayed eight days near Kiev, fighting with Vsevolod [Mstislavich]. Then Prince Iaropolk of Kiev made peace with Vsevolod and turned over Pereiaslavl' to his brother, Andrei, and the principality of Vladimir to Iziaslav Mstislavich.

[NOVGOROD CAMPAIGNS AGAINST SUZDAL']

The same year Michael, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, sent an interdiction on all Novgorod. The Novgorodians, however, together with their Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich and their Bishop Nifont, became greatly offended and sent Abbot Isaiah and the Novgorodian envoy, Iakun Ivankov, to Metropolitan Michael in Kiev with a petition requesting remission of the interdiction [and inviting him to Novgorod].[11] And Michael, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, was received by all Novgorod with great honor and joy. Thereafter, however, some evil people started persuading Vsevolod Mstislavich to fight against Suzdal' and Rostov. Hearing of this, Michael, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, forbade Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich and all the Novgorodians uselessly to shed Christian blood and not to fight in war. Then, when Metropolitan Michael wanted to return to Kiev, the Novgorodians did not let him; and not only him, but none of his people, in order to prevent word [of their intention] from reaching Suzdal' or Rostov. Then the Metropolitan tried to persuade them: "If you disobey me and campaign against Suzdal' or Rostov, there will be no good [in it] for you. Although I am sinful, I, one, will be heard by Lord God because I will pray to Him tear-

10. A thunderstorm in winter, even in south Russia, is very unusual.

11. In *Novg. Syn.* it is mentioned that Metropolitan Michael remained in Novgorod Dec. 9, 6642/1135—Feb. 10, 6642/1135.

fully." But they became indignant at the Metropolitan and told him of the many faults of the Suzdalians and Rostovians. The same winter Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich, together with all the Novgorodians and with the Germans,[12] campaigned together against Suzdal' and Rostov, but their advance was very difficult. Bad weather came, strong winds and fierce snowstorms. The armies of Suzdal' and Rostov met them on Zhdan mountain, where they fought fiercely and caused the Novgorodians much harm. Their honorable posadnik, Ivanko Dankov, was killed there, and also Zhiriata Iakunov, Petrilo Nikulich and Dansha Iakshich. And they [men of Suzdal'] slew many good and courageous Novgorodian men, and much Christian blood was shed. The Novgorodians fled to Novgorod with their prince and, returning thither, began to accuse Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich for having initiated this war against Suzdal'. So he decided to flee to the Germans [to the Livonian Order]; but the Novgorodians caught him and put him under guard, keeping him there with his wife, children and mother-in-law for two months and four days. They guarded him strictly every day and every night, and there were 100 armed men to guard them. **1135**

And here were his faults [according to the Novgorodians]: "Why did he not care for the common people? Why did he want to be prince in Pereiaslavl'? Why did he want to wage war against Suzdal' and Rostov? Why did he not fight bravely? And why was he the first to flee? And why did he prefer games and entertainment rather than state affairs? Why did he have so many gyrfalcons and dogs? And why did he order us first to join Vsevolod Ol'govich, and then command us to abandon him?" And they found many other faults in him and would not release him until they received another prince.

And then from Chernigov there came to them in Novgorod Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich, grandson of Sviatoslav Iaroslavich,[13] who was sent thither by his brother, Vsevolod Ol'govich, also grandson of Sviatoslav Iaroslavich; and then they released Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, expelling

12. The Livonian knights.

13. Sviatoslav Ol'govich thereafter became prince of Kursk, Ryl'sk and the Seversk land. His sons, Igor' and Vsevolod-Bui Tur, are the heroes of *Igor's Lay*.

1136 him with his wife, children and mother-in-law, and saying, "Go withersoever thou willst!" Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich went to his uncle, Grand Prince Iaropolk Volodimirich in Kiev, and Iaropolk gave him Vyshgorod to rule. He remained there one year.

The same year in Novgorod they killed an honorable man, posadnik Iakun Mikhalkovich, and the office of psadnik was given to Ivanko Pavlovich. The same year posadnik Miroslav Mikulich died in Novgorod and Konstantin Mikulich was assigned to the office of posadnik.[14]

The same year tysiatskii Ivan Andreevich, called "Dolgii," was killed in Riazan'.

[THE OL'GOVICHS FIGHT GRAND PRINCE IAROPOLK]

In the year 6644 [1136]. Grand Prince Iaropolk of Kiev transferred his brother, Prince Andrei Volodimirovich, son of Monomakh, from the principality of Vladimir to the principality of Pereiaslavl'.

The same year the [Ol'govich] princes of Chernigov—Vsevolod, Sviatoslav and Igor', sons of Oleg, grandsons of Sviatoslav, great grandsons of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandsons of Great Vladimir—assembed their troops and ravaged the villages and towns on the river Sula, and came to Pereiaslavl' Russkii.[15] They caused much evil and burned the town of Ust'e. They retreated and camped on Supoi. Grand Prince Iaropolk of Kiev, son of Vladimir Monomakh, grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, together with his kinsmen, the Monomashich princes, marched against them and they clashed in battle and fought fiercely, and soon the Polovetss fled, abandoning the Ol'govichs. The troops of Grand Prince Iaropolk and his brothers, and the best and most courageous men, followed them and pursued many Polovetss, killing them, and they returned but did not find their own princes and came into the hands of the Ol'govichs. At the same time the Polovetss returned and attacked their rear. Thus were they slain—many

14. This entry under the year 1135 is characteristic for the simultaneous use in *Nik.* of material from *Laur.:* (6643[1135], the first three paragraphs, and *Novg.* (1135-1138), the subsequent paragraphs.

15. Pereiaslavl' Russkii—southern Pereiaslavl', on the border of the Polovets prairie.

courageous men of Prince Iaropolk and his kinsmen. They cap- **1136**
tured those who guarded the standards of Grand Prince Iaropolk of Kiev, as well as his brothers and a great many of his boiars. They killed a great number of others, among them the brave Davyd Iarunovich, the tysiatskii of Kiev, and Ivan Danilov, a brave bogatyr', and honorable Stanislav and Danilo Tudkovich and Dam'ian Nian'ka;[16] and many others, strong and brave men. And they killed Vasil'ko Marich grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, and slew many princes. With difficulty did Grand Prince Iaropolk, son of Vladimir Monomakh, escape to Kiev with his brothers and a small number of troops. And this happended on the eighth day of the month of August. They same year the Ol'govichs came with Polovetss and took the towns of Trepol'e, Kholiap and Detinesk, and they came to Kiev with the intention of fighting Grand Prince Iaropolk Volodimirich and his kinsmen; but God did not permit them to cause such evil. Grand Prince Iaropolk with his kinsmen were able to fight them, but he did not want bloodshed because he feared God. He made peace with them, and the Ol'govichs returned to Chernigov, while the Polovetss departed into the prairie beyond the Don.

The same year Simeon, Bishop of Vladimir in Volynia, passed away.

The same year on April twenty eight, His Holiness Michael, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, elevated Manuel, the Castrate, to Bishop of Smolensk. The same year on the sixth day of the month of May His Holiness Michael, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, elevated another castrate, Theodore, to Bishop of Vladimir in Volynia.[17]

The same year Konstantin Dashkov, posadnik of Novgorod, escaped from Novgorod to Vyshgorod, to Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich; and there were many other men with him. [And the Novgorodians] assigned posadnik Iakun Miroslavich.[18]

The same year in Riazan' they slew in ambush a Pecheneg bogatyr' named Temir Hodzha.[19]

16. In *Laur.*, only Davyd Iarunovich and Stanislav Tudkovich are mentioned.

17. In *Laur.*, under the year 1137.

18. In *Novg.*, under the year 1137.

19. The source of the last paragraph is unclear.

1137 *In the year 6645 [1137].*

[NOVGORODIAN DISPLEASURE WITH THE PRINCES]

In the year 6646 [1138]. The Novgorodians and people of Pskov conspired secretly because they were indignant at their Prince Sviatoslav, son of Oleg, grandson of Sviatoslav, great-grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir. They took a secret oath to drive Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich out of Novgorod and to get back in Novgorod Prince Vsevolod, son of Mstislav, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr.-grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr.-grandson of Iaroslav, gr.-gr.-gr.-grandson of Great Vladimir, whom he earlier had driven out from Novgorod. They discussed this secretly under oath so that none should learn of it. And then tysiatskii Konstantin Ivankov, Dashko Iakshich of Novgorod, Zhiriata Dashkov and Mikhalko Ianovich from Pskov, and other conspirators went secretly to Vyshgorod to Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich, telling him, "Prince! Return to rule in Novgorod! The people of Novgorod and of Pskov want you back to be prince there."

Vsevolod Mstislavich with his brother, Sviatopolk, and with his troops, left Vyshgorod and came to Pskov. When this was learned in Novgorod, Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich took fright and was seized with great fear. There was a great disturbance in Novgorod and people rebelled here and there. They did not want as prince in Novgorod Sviatoslav Ol'govich, and they started going over to Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich in Pskov. On their way they sacked many households and towns. At that time, Konstantin Nezhatin, Ivanko Dobrynin, Timoshka Iakshich and Nestor Petrilov, and many others went thither [to Pskov, to Mstislav]. Sviatoslav Ol'govich, however, began to investigate the Novgorodian boiars. Having investigated them, he executed some and put others in prison, and others he brought to pledge on the cross [their allegiance to him]. Thereafter, Sviatoslav Ol'govich brought together the entire levy of Novgorod, his brother, Gleb, [who was] with the levy of the city of Kursk, and the Polovetss, and he marched toward Pskov to pursue Vsevolod. Pskov, however, did not submit to Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich and did not chase Prince Vsevolod Mstislavovich from the city.[20] They were firm and not

20. In *Nik.*, Vsevolod Mstislavovich reads, erroneously, "Vsevolod Sviatoslavich."

affrighted, although they had received tidings that Sviatoslav Ol'govich was marching against them with great forces, with his brother, Gleb, and with Polovetss. Forthwith they prepared ambushes in the forest and barricaded the roads. Prince Sviatoslav [Ol'govich] halted there, perplexed, saying, "It is better to rely upon God than to shed the blood of my kinsmen. Everything is possible with God's help, and He will do as He wishes." He returned to Novgorod and everyone went back to their homes. The same year on the eleventh day of the month of February[21]—Thursday of Shrovetide—Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich, grandson of Vladimir Monomkh, died in Pskov. He was buried in the church of the Holy Trinity which he, himself, had built. **1138**

Then the people of Pskov decided to support his brother, Sviatopolk; but there was no peace either among the people of Suzdal' or among those of Smolensk, or among those of Polotsk, or among those of Kiev. Because of this dissension, there was great hunger throughout the entire land, people were abducted [into slavery], and there was constant bloodshed caused by the pagan Polovetss, the Poles and the Chud'. The land became impoverished and was laid waste, according to the words of Christ, who says in his Gospel, "Every kingdom in dissension becomes impoverished and every city or house is unable to sustain itself."

The same year the Polovetss ravaged around Kursk and occupied the whole region, burning everything.

The same year the Poles gathered a great multitude of troops, campaigned in Russia and caused much evil.

The same year[22] the pious Princess Euthemia, dowager of Vladimir Monomakh, passed away and was buried in the church of the Saviour in Berestovo.

The same year[23] the Novgorodians cast out from Novgorod their Prince Sviatoslav, son of Oleg, grandson of Sviatoslav, gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, who had ruled in Novgorod for two years and five months. They sent to Suzdal' to obtain Rostislav as prince, son of Prince Iurii [Dolgorukii], grandson of Vladimir Monomkh, gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav and gr. gr. gr. grandson of

21. 6645 without the day in *Novg. Syn.*, month in *Novg. Kom.*

22. 6646(1138) in *Troitsk.*; 6647(1139) in *Vozn.*

23. 6646(1138) in *Novg. Syn.*

1138 Great Vladimir. Prince Iurii Vladimirovich, son of Monomakh, sent his son Rostislav, to them in Novgorod from his principality of Suzdal' to be prince there.

The same year on the twenty-first day of the month of March Prince Rostislav ascended to the throne of Novgorod. He was the son of Iurii, grandson of Vladimir Monomkh. There was great joy among all the Novgorodians, and they made peace with Pskov.

[THE OL'GOVICHS RESUME THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST IAROPOLK]

The same year the Ol'govich princes of Chernigov summoned the Polovetss to their aid and began campaigning along the river Sula. Prince Andrei Vladimirovich [of Pereiaslavl'], son of Monomakh, could not withstand them and, since he received no aid from his brother, Iaropolk, Grand Prince of Kiev, he wanted to flee from Pereiaslavl'. Learning that Prince Andrei could get no help from anywhere, the Ol'govichs therefore became careless. Prince Andrei, however, meantime sent a message secretly to his brother, Iaropolk, Grand Prince of Kiev, and the latter began to assemble a great number of warriors from everywhere. This was the same year that he confiscated the treasury of Prince Sviatoslav, the grandson of Sviatoslav, and for this reason the Ol'govichs started a feud, brought a multitude of Polovetss and took the city of Priluki, where they captured a great multitude of people. But when they prepared themselves to march toward Kiev against Prince Iaropolk, they learned that Grand Prince Iaropolk of Kiev had, himself, advanced against them. Consequently, the Ol'govichs retreated to Chernigov.[24]

With Grand Prince Iaropolk there was a great number of warriors: the Hungarians; the Czechs; the Poles; the levies of Kiev; of Periaslavl'; of Vladimir, with all the levies from Volynia; of Turov; the Drevlians; the levies of Polotsk; of Smolensk; of Galich and of Rostov. And they were joined by forty thousand Berendeis, and therefore there were numberless armies. The Ol'govich princes of Chernigov decided to flee into the Polovets land, but the bishop and people of Chernigov cried to them, "If you escape to the Polovetss, you will destroy your domain and, in so doing, you will be unable to return because it is written, 'God

24. 6647 in *Hyp.*

resisteth the proud but giveth grace to the humble.' [James 4:6] **1138**
Reject your pride and your ambition and accept the great aid, being humble in the Lord, and then you will receive God's mercy. Make peace with Grand Prince Iaropolk. We all know Iaropolk's mercy, that he does not enjoy bloodshed; but for the sake of God he wants peace and friendship, which he tries to maintain with divine help throughout the whole Russian land because he lives in awe of God, in tranquility, in meekness, in humility and in love, being always merciful toward all."[25]

When Vsevolod Ol'govich and his brothers heard these words from the bishop of Chernigov and all the people of Chernigov, they became very frightened, and he exclaimed, "Oh, woe is me, a sinner! Who am I, a dead and foul dog, to do such evil? Better I should do as you advise, bishop, and die rather in humility according to your words than perish in pride and full of ambition in this and in the future world." And he told the bishiop, "You are right and your words are just, holy father. It will be as you say." And Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich with his brothers sent to Prince Iaropolk, Grand Prince of Kiev, expressing their submission and asking for peace. Then Iaropolk, son of Vladimir Monomakh, Grand Prince of Kiev, together with Vsevolod Ol'govich, Grand Prince of Chernigov, made a pledge on the life-giving cross and exchanged gifts, shedding many tears; and they decided that humility and love should abide amongst them. Then they went home. The same night there was a miraculous portent in the skies.

DEATH OF IAROPOLK, GRAND PRINCE OF KIEV

The same fall on the eighth day of the month of November,[26] the pious and Christ loving Grand Prince Iaropolk, son of Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh, grandson of Grand Prince Vsevolod, great grandson of Grand Prince Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of pious Grand Prince Vladimir, passed away, having ruled in Kiev seven years. This prince surpassed many others in piety, loved Christ, the people, and the reading of divine Scripture, he respected bishops, priests and monks, and often talked with them and enjoyed spiritual discourse. He was a good warrior against the enemies from lands which would not submit [to his rule] and

25. 6647 in *Hyp.*

26. On Feb. 18, 6646(1138), in *Troits.*; 6647(1139) in *Hyp.*

1138 everyone respected him and stood in awe of him.

GRAND PRINCE VIACHESLAV VLADIMIRICH OF KIEV

The same year [27] his brother Viacheslav, son of Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh, ascended to the throne of Kiev after him. He received the blessing of His Holiness Michael, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia. His Holiness, Metropolitan Michael, assembed a great many people and enthroned Prince Viacheslav Volodimirich in the Grand Principality of Kiev. It was the throne of his father, Vladimir; of his grandfather, Vsevolod; of his great-grandfather, Iaroslav; and of his gr. gr. grandfather, Great Vladimir. The same year Grand Prince Vsevolod of Chernigov, son of Oleg, grandson of Sviatoslav, great-grandson of Iaroslav and gr. gr. grandson of Great and Blessed Vladimir, marched to Kiev with his kinsmen against the Grand Prince, Viacheslav Volodimirich, son of Monomakh. He sent Viacheslav, saying the following: "Depart peacefully from Kiev!" The latter did not want bloodshed or to fight with him, Vsevolod. Therefore, His Holiness Michael, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, made peace among them and confirmed it on the venerable cross. Then Viacheslav, Grand Prince of Kiev, son of Monomakh, went to become Grand Prince of Turov after having reigned in the Grand Principality of Kiev for twenty days.[28]

VSEVOLOD OL'GOVICH, GRAND PRINCE OF KIEV

In the same year [*6646/1138*].[29] Vsevolod, son of Oleg, grandson of Sviatoslav, great-grandson of Iaropolk, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, entered the city of Kiev to be Grand Prince there; and on Sunday, the fifth day of the month of March, he was enthroned in the Grand Principality of Kiev by His Holiness, Metropolitan Michael. And the same day Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich, together with his [spiritual] father, Metropolitan Michael, and with kinsmen, princes, boiars and all the people, held a great and festive banquet, putting in the streets wine, mead, cooked food and all manner of other comestibles and fruit, and he distributed vast alms to the churches and monasteries. The

27. 6647(1139) in *Hyp.*
28. Text close to *Laur.*
29. 6648/1140 in *Hyp.*; 6646 in *Laur.*

same year Grand Prince Vsevolod of Kiev, son of Oleg, grandson of Sviatoslav, assigned [his cousin] Vladimir, son of Davyd, grandson of Sviatoslav, gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, to be grand prince of the city of Chernigov.[30] **1139**

The same year Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev campaigned against the Polovetss, slaying some and capturing many others alive.

[GRAND PRINCE VSEVOLOD OPPOSES THE MONOMASHICHS OF VOLYNIA AND PEREIASLAVL']

In the year 6647 [1139]. Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev learned that the princes who descended from Vladimir Monomakh were indignant and he began to plot against those princes who descended from Vladimir Monomakh and [the latter's son] Mstislav. Relying on the great multitude of his warriors, he planned, together with his brethren and kinsmen, to rule all the Russian land. He wanted to take away from Rostislav Mstislavich the Grand Principality of Smolensk; from Iziaslav Mstislavich, the grand principality of Vladimir [in Volynia], and from their uncle, Prince Iurii Vladimirich [Dolgorukii], son of Monomakh, the Grand Principality of Suzdal' and from his other uncle, Andrei Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, the Grand Principality of Pereiaslavl' Russkii. He dispatched numerous troops against Iziaslav Mstislavich, saying, "Depart in peace from Vladimir [in Volynia]. If you do not do so, you must understand that I will send a great army against you." The army of Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev marched to Gorina, where panic and fright seized them, and they fled back.

The same year Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev brought his brother Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich from Kursk [and Ryl'sk] and marched with him toward Pereiaslavl', intending to make him grand prince of Pereiaslavl' and to drive out from Pereiaslavl' Prince Andrei Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, and to send the latter to the grand principality of Kursk. He sent to Grand Prince Andrei Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, ruler of Periaslavl', saying the following: "Go and be grand prince in Kursk." But Grand Prince Andrei Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, responded, "Better that I die together with my war-

30. Close to *Laur.*; except last sentence.

1139 riors in my own patrimony and in the land of my grandfather than become grand prince of Kursk, which is alien to me. My father never reigned in the grand principality of Kursk, but reigned in Pereiaslavl', and I want to die in my own patrimony of Pereiaslavl'. If you, brother Vsevolod, are not satisfied with the power which you have over the whole Russian land and if you want to seize power over my grand principality of Periaslavl', you may have it, killing me. As long as I am alive, I will not surrender and will not relinquish power over the grand principality of Pereiaslavl'. But if you want to kill me or achieve my death by some other means, then Lord God will take revenge on you in this age and in the future one. It is nothing new among our kinsmen to suffer because earlier we had Sviatopolk [the Accursed], son of Great Vladimir, who, lusting for power and desiring to rule over the entire Russian land, killed Boris and Gleb, but shortly he, himself, perished."

Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev remained on the Dnieper but sent his brother, Sviatoslav Ol'govich, with the latter's troops, to the city of Pereiaslavl'. They were met by Prince Andrei's warriors and they fought them and God helped Prince Andrei's warriors, who pursued the others up to Koran', but Grand Prince Andrei Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, ruler of Periaslavl', did not permit his warriors to proceed further and the next day both [princes] concluded peace. That night there was a fire in the city of Pereiaslavl', but this did not occur because of the war—it was by accident.

The same year the envoys of the Polovetsian land and Polovets princes came for the sake of peace. Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev and Andrei Vladimirovich of Pereiaslavl' went to meet them and they made peace with the Polovetss and returned home.

[NOVGORODIANS CAST OUT THEIR PRINCES]

The same year the Novgorodians drove from Novgorod their Prince Rostislav, son of Iurii [Dolgorukii], grandson of Vladimir Monomakh. The same year the Novgorodians sent to Kiev to Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev, asking that his brother, Sviatoslav Ol'govich, should come to Novgorod to be prince there and that he should send his children as a token of good faith.

Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev sent them his brother, Sviatoslav Ol'govich to be prince of Novgorod.[31] **1140**

In the year 6648 [1140]. The Novgorodians drove from Novgorod their Prince Sviatoslav, son of Oleg, grandson of Sviatoslav, great-grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir; and he fled from Novgorod, taking with him secretly the Novgorodian posadnik, Iakun Ivankov, and his brother, Prokopii Ivankov. The Novgorodians pursued Iakun and his brother and caught them on the road, where they fought fiercely. They left him nearly dead and naked as when his mother gave him birth and threw him from the bridge into the water, but God did not let him die. He waded to the bank of the river and then they did not beat him anymore but took 1,000 rubles from him and 500 rubles from his brother. They put heavy irons on their hands and feet and sent them to prison in the land of the Chud'. Later, when some time had passed, Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirovich [Dolgorukii], son of Monomakh, brought them, as well as their wives and children, from Novgorod to Suzdal'. They remained with him, enjoying his favor and protection.[32]

The Novgorodians, however, accepted Sudilo Nezhatich and Strashka, who had fled from Novgorod to Suzdal' on account of Sviatoslav, as well as because of Iakun and his brother, Prokopii. They assigned Sudilo Ivankov as posadnik. Then they sent their bishop, Nifont, with their men to Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev to tell him, "Give us as prince your son, Sviatoslav, because we do not want your brother, Sviatoslav Ol'govich, whom we have driven out of Novgorod where he was prince." Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich sent them his son, Sviatoslav, to be prince; and on his way thither he had just passed Chernigov when the Novgorodians, changing their mind, dispatched [Prince] Vsevolod Ol'govich the following: "We do not want your son to be prince in our Novgorod; neither your brother nor your kinsmen; but we want a descendant of Vladimir Monomakh to be our prince." When Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev learned of this he sent in rapid pursuit of them and they brought back [to Kiev] Bishop Nifont with the Novgorodian men. Then the Nov-

31. The text of this entry is close to *Laur.* 6647; some parts from *Hyp.* 6648, i.e. the speech of Andrei of Pereiaslavl', a.o.

32. 6646 in *Novg. Syn.* and *Novg. Kom.*; 6648 in *Hyp.* and *Laur.*

1141 gorodians, again deliberating, told Vsevolod, "Give us your brother-in-law, Prince Sviatopolk Mstislavich [grandson of Monomakh]." Vsevolod Ol'govich did not want to let the Novgorodians have any prince from among the descendants of Monomakh, and therefore he summoned his son-in-law, Sviatopolk Mstislavich, and put him, together with the bishop and the Novgorodians, under guard in Berestovo [near Kiev], saying, "Stay here and do not dream of Novgorod. The Novgorodians may do as they want and get a prince whensoever they wish." And so he kept the Novgorodians with their bishop for the whole year, and some of them were kept in a dungeon.

In the year 6649 [1141]. The Novgorodians could not abide remaining without a prince and there were rumors and confusion among them because there was no grain, for the Novgorodian merchants going to Rus' [for grain] would be arrested and put in a dungeon by Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev.[33] Therfore, there was a great grief in Novgorod. Thereupon the Novgorodians sent their envoys to Suzdal' to Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich [Dolgorukii], son of Monomakh, saying, "Give us Sviatopolk Mstislavich as prince because we want no Ol'govich to be prince in Novgorod. If you do not want to give us your brother's son, Prince Sviatopolk Mstislavich, then come, yourself, to be prince here, or send us your son, Rostislav." Prince Iurii Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, sent them his son, Rostislav, and the latter went to Novgorod and was taken to the court of the bishop, where all the Novgorodians gathered and took counsel with their bishop, Nifont. They had Prince Rostislav Iur'evich pledge on the cross that he would reign according to their will. And so Prince Rostislav Iur'evich ruled in Novgorod according to the people's will.

When Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev heard of this, he threw all the Novgorodians who had come to him as envoys, with their bishop, Nifont, into dungeons, and put their bishop, Nifont, under guard.

33. In this restricted sense, "*Rus*" denotes the region of Kiev and Pereiaslavl'. In the twelfth century this term was often applied specifically to the southern Russian territory of the middle Dnieper, north of the Polovetsian prairie as well as to entire Russia.

APPARITION **1142**

The same year on the twenty-third day of the month of January the pious and Christ-loving Grand Prince Andrei Volodimirich, son of Monomakh, died at Pereiaslavl', and on the morrow when they were carrying his casket, there was an unusual apparition in the sky. It was very terrifying because it seemed that three suns shone, and there also were three pillars from the earth to the sky, and above them all was a kind of arc, while the moon remained aside. This apparition remained until they buried him in the church of St. Michael.[34]

The same year pious Prince Vsevolod of Gorodets died, on the first day of the month of February.[35]

The same year Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev sent for Grand Prince Viacheslav Vladimirovich, son of Monomakh [who ruled at that time in Turov], to tell him, "Why do you remain within my domain which pertains to Kiev? This domain belongs to me, and therfore you should go to your own patrimony of Pereiaslavl'."[36]

The same year Prince Igor' Ol'govich ravaged several towns of [Prince] Iurii [Dolgorukii] and seized all the cattle, horses and wealth.

In the year 6650[1142]. Grand Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, left Turov to become prince of Pereiaslavl', while Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich [son of Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev] went to Turov. In the meantime, Prince Igor' Ol'govich also wanted to become prince of Pereiaslavl'. He assembled many warriors and marched to Pereiaslavl' which he besieged for two months. Then Viacheslav's nephew, Iziaslav Mstislavich, came to Viacheslav's aid with his brother, Rostislav Mstislavich, from Smolensk and they occupied Igor's four cities. When Prince Igor' heard that his cities had been captured, he marched away from Pereiaslavl'. Then Grand Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, gave Pereiaslavl' to his nephew, Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, and he, himself, returned to Turov to be grand prince there. Then, on the twenty fifth day of the month of January, Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev sent his son, Sviatoslav, to be grand prince of Vladimir [in Volynia].

34. Text close to *Laur.*
35. Text close to *Laur.*
36. Text close to *Laur.*

1143 The same winter Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev [decided to intervene in Poland] and sent his son, Sviatoslav, and Prince Iziaslav, son of [his uncle] Davyd, grandson of Sviatoslav, great-grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, together with Prince Vladimirko of Galich, to help [the Polish king] Vladislav against his junior kin, sons of Boleslav. They all met at Chernechsk, fought there for a long while and returned. Not only did they fight against the Polish troops but they also sacked and captured peaceful Poles.

The same year the Iem' invaded and ravaged Novgorodian domains.[37] All the people of Ladoga assembed to fight them and they slew 400 Iem' warriors.

The same year the Swedish prince came, with his bishop, in sixty boats to fight the Novgorodian merchants who were returning from beyond the sea with great wealth in five ships. They fought fiercely but did not succeed in the least against the Novgorodians, and the latter seized three [Swedish] boats and killed one hundred and fifty of their men.[38]

In the year 6651 [1143]. Between Christmas and Epiphany Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev married his son, Sviatoslav, in Novgorod, to the daughter of Prince Vasiliok of Polotsk, son of Sviatoslav, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir.[39]

The same winter Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich went to his uncle, Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, but could not agree with him and from thence he went to his brother [Rostislav] in Smolensk, whence he journeyed to his other brother, Sviatopolk, in Novgorod; and he passed the winter there.[40]

In the year 6652 [1144]. Iziaslav Mstislavich left Novgorod to visit his brethren. The same year Iziaslav Mstislavich gave his daughter in marriage to Prince Rogvold Borisovich of Polotsk. Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich went to Pereiaslavl' to this wedding, with his wife and boiars and the people of Kiev, and they had great festivity there and all were in concord and peace.[41]

37. Iem': a Finnish tribe.
38. As in *Novg. Syn.*
39. As in *Laur.*
40. As in *Laur.*
41. As in *Laur.*

VSEVOLOD OL'GOVICH CAMPAIGNS IN THE GALICH LAND **1144**

The same year Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev sent his troops against Prince Vladimirko of Galich. He sent thither Prince Iziaslav Davydovich and the Polovetsian princes with Polovetsian troops, and the other Russian princes joined with Vsevolod, as well as with the Poles, Czechs and Hungarians. With the latter came the *ban*,[42] the son of the king's sister. And so there gathered a great multitude of warriors against Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich. They came to Galich but were unable to attack because the river [Seret] had not yet frozen. Both armies moved along the river for twelve days and came to Zvenigorod, where they camped on Rozhno field; but they could not fight because Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich took a position on the Bald Mountains with a multitude of warriors. Then came Prince Iziaslav, son of Davyd, grandson of Sviatoslav, with Polovetsian princes bringing with them a large number of Polovetsian warriors; and they took two fortified towns belonging to Prince Vladimirko of Galich, Ushitsa and Mikulin. Prince Vladimirko marched to Zvenigorod and camped on this side of the city. Therafter Prince Vladimirko, who was on his side of the city, came down from the mountain, camped in Swan Field [*Lebezheie pole*] so that the river Greska was between them, and at this place the river was shallow.[43]

Therefore Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev ordered that bridges be built, and instructed each of his regiments to prepare a ford; on the morrow they crossed the river and occupied the mountains behind the camp of Grand Prince Vladimirko. Prince Vladimirko thought that they were attacking him and therefore prepared his troops for battle before the city in Black Marsh, [*Chernaia Bolon'*]; and then he retreated to Falcon Mountains [*Sokol'i gory*]. Thus, he had impassable marshes on both sides, and because of this situation his army was unable to maneuver, for the ground was very narrow; he was surrounded by vast marshes and impenetrable places extending as far as the [Carpathian] mountains.

42. *Ban*: Hungarian viceroy and army commander in Croatia; however, according to *Laur.* and *Troits.*, the Hungarians were with Vladimirko. In *Vlad.* as in *Nik.*

43. In *Nik.* Greska appears in place of Belka.

1144 In view of this situation, the Russian troops marched toward the [Carpathian] mountains and went beyond Peremyshl and Galich.[44] When the troops of Galich [with Vladimirko] realized this, they became very afflicted, saying, "We will stay here while in our homes our wives and children will be taken prisoner." So Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich sent to Igor', saying, "In case you bring me peace with Vsevolod Ol'govich, Prince of Kiev, then after his death I will help you become Grand Prince of Kiev, and God be Witness between us that I do not lie." With these words of flattery he swayed Prince Igor', and the latter took it upon himself to intercede with his older brother, Grand Prince Vsevolod of Kiev, saying, "Gracious brother! You are to me the same as was my father. So, you—my father and senior brother and lord—told me the following: 'After my death I will leave you the Grand Principality of Kiev.' Now, since Prince Vladimirko of Galich is my friend and my aide, I beseech you, my sweetest lord and most senior brother, to be in friendship with him and show him mercy."

Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev agreed with his brother, Prince Igor' Ol'govich, and made peace with Prince Vladimirko of Galich, and the same day in the evening Prince Vladimirko of Galich left the city and went to Vsevolod Ol'govich. Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev with his kinsmen and boyars met him and they kissed each other and returned home. [To seal the peace] Prince Vladimirko of Galich gave to Vsevolod Ol'govich, Grand Prince of Kiev, 2,000 silver rubles,[45] while Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev returned to Vladimirko the towns which were earlier occupied: this means, Ushitsa and Mikulin. Vsevolod distributed one part of the silver among his brothers, while another part of the silver he gave to the warriors, beginning with the most senior down to the most junior. And from this silver he did not leave himself a single silver coin, and he returned to Kiev and let his warriors return home.

The same year on the ninth day of the month of July, Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev laid the foundation of a church in Kanev.[46]

44. Here, "Russian troops" again designate the troops of the middle Dnieper Russia, the region of Kiev and Pereiaslavl'.

45. 1,200 silver grivnas in *Laur.*

46. Close to *Laur.*, 6652.

1145 The same year in Novgorod they completed building the stone church of the Holy Theotokos on the market site; and Nezhata Tverdiatich became posadnik.[47]

In the year 6653 [1145]. The pious and Christ-loving Grand Princess Elena, dowager of Grand Prince Iaropolk, son of Vladimir Monomakh, transferred the body [of her husband] from its burial place to the church of St. Andrew, and she buried him next to Ianka, daughter of Vsevolod, granddaughter of Iaroslav, great-granddaughter of Great Vladimir.

METROPOLITAN MICHAEL GOES TO CONSTANTINOPLE

The same year our lord, His Holiness Michael, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, went to the city of Constantinople to the Patriarch.

The same year Prince Igor' Ol'govich, together with his kinsmen, went to help the Poles to fight the other Poles.

The same year in Kiev the greatest part of the *Podol* burned.[48] The same year in Smolensk in the section of Smedin the foundation was laid for a stone church to the Holy Passion Martyrs Boris and Gleb.[49]

In the year 6654 [1146]. Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich marched and occupied Priluki. Hearing of this, Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev became greatly grieved and sent to his brothers, ordering them to be ready by Boris' day to advance against Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich. He sent many messengers to all countries: to Novogorod, to the Czechs, to the Poles and to the Hungarians; and assembled many warriors against Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich. He commanded both Iziaslavs—Iziaslav Davydovich and Iziaslav Mstislavich—to stay home; but after several days he became gravely ill and ordered that he be taken to Vyshgorod. Then, after a short while he fell into eternal sleep, and thus died Grand Prince Vsevolod of Kiev, son of Oleg, grandson of Sviatoslav, great-grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir. This happened on the thirtieth day of July after he had remained on the throne of the Grand Principality of Kiev for seven years. After him [in Kiev] remained his son, Sviatoslav.

47. From *Novg. Syn.* or *Novg. Kom.*, 6652.

48. *Podol*; a low part of the city, on the Dnieper River.

49. This entry close to *Laur.*; last sentence from *Novg. Syn.*

1146 THE REIGN OF GRAND PRINCE IGOR' OL'GOVICH OF KIEV

[*6654 (1146)*]. His brother, Igor' Ol'govich, ascended to the throne of the Grand Principality of Kiev but the people did not like this and sent their envoys to Pereiaslavl' to Prince Iziaslav, son of Mstislav, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, saying the following: "Come to us, Prince, to the Grand Principality of Kiev because we want to see you as grand prince of Kiev." Hearing this, Iziaslav Mstislavich rejoiced greatly, and after praying in the Church of St. Michael and receiving a blessing from Bishop Euthemius, he marched with his troops from Pereiaslavl' to Kiev. He crossed the Dnieper and camped near Zhalina.[50] Grand Prince Igor' Ol'govich of Kiev, however, together with his brother, Sviatoslav, and with the boyars and all the warriors, marched against Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, Grand Prince of Pereiaslavl'. And when they approached Oleg's burial hill[51] their warriors took fright and panicked, and so did Grand Prince Igor' and his brother, Sviatoslav, themselves; and they fled, though pursued by no one. Seeing them flee, Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Pereiaslavl' followed after them with his troopes and caught many of the fleeing warriors, and others were slain, while still others drowned in the water. All this happened on the thirteenth day of the month of December[52] by the will of God and thanks to the prayers of the Immaculate Theotokos and with the help of the venerable cross, as well as thanks to the prayers of all the saints.

THE REIGN OF GRAND PRINCE IZIASLAV II MSTISLAVICH OF KIEV

The same day Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich entered the city of Kiev and ascended to the throne of the Grand Principality of Kiev, and in this way Igor' Ol'govich reigned on the throne of the Grand Principality of Kiev exactly two weeks. Such is divine providence: "So then He hath mercy on whom He will, and whom He will He hardeneth." [Rom. 9:18.] But it can be different, as well. For God dislikes him who commits evil, who kills, who appropriates wealth in a wicked manner and who despises the

50. Zhelan' in *Laur.*

51. *Olgova Mogila*—"Oleg's Burial Hill," location unclear.

52. August in *Laur.*

poor and paupers. Yet men care more for corporal needs than for spiritual ones. **1146**

Four days later Grand Prince Igor' Ol'govich, who was taken prisoner in the swamp, was conducted to Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev. Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich sent him to Vydubets Monastery and ordered that he be strictly guarded. From thence he was sent to Pereiaslavl' and was put into a stone dungeon in the Monastery of St. John, and many guards were assigned to guard him strictly. And thus ended the reign of Grand Prince Igor', son of Oleg, grandson of Sviatoslav, great grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir. His brother, Sviatoslav Ol'govich, escaped from the battlefield to Novgorod in the Seversk land, with a few troops.[53] He wept bitterly, saying, "Woe is me, a sinner! What should I do? I have lost my senior brother, Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev, who has passed away to God; and my other sweet and gracious brother, Grand Prince Igor' Ol'govich of Kiev, has been caught by enemies. Oh, woe! My poor soul! What should I do? Whither should I go?" His warriors tried to console him, but they, themselves, wept and shed tears.

The same year the Polovetsian princes, hearing what had happened to Grand Prince Igor' Ol'govich of Kiev, made peace with Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev.[54]

The same year Viacheslav [of Turov], son of Vladimir Monomakh, became very glad, learning how the princes of Oleg's clan were defeated. Relying upon his seniority and heeding his boiars, he decided not to recognize Iziaslav Mstislavich, his brother's son [as prince of Kiev]. Therefore he occupied the cities which had been taken from him by Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev; and not only these, his own former cities, but he also occupied the city of Vladimir and all Volynia; and he assigned there as prince the son of his late brother, Prince Vladimir Andreevich. Then Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev sent thither his brother, Rostislav, who reoccupied those cities and put into irons the namestniks [of Prince Viacheslav]. He also

53. Novgorod Severskii: a city in the southern part of Kievan Russia. At that time it was part of the greater Chernigov principality.

54. Text here is close to *Laur.*, except for quotes from the *Gospel* and Sviatoslav's lamentation.

1146 occupied the city of Turov and put the tysiatskis into irons. And he assigned his son, Iaroslav, to rule there.[55]

The same year Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev went to the Davydovich princes to discuss with them what to do with Sviatoslav Ol'govich, who was in Novgorod Severskii. And then he sent Prince Iziaslav Davydovich and his brother, Prince Vladimir Davydovich, and his own son, Mstislav, with many warriors, against Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich. They marched to Novgorod Severskii and did much evil around Novgorod Severskii. Then Sviatoslav Ol'govich sent to them asking for peace but they replied, "Give off supporting your brother, Prince Igor' Ol'govich [in prison in Pereiaslavl']. Then you will be at peace and in concord with us." But he answered, "Better that I die than abandon my brother, Prince Igor' Ol'govich, because as long as my soul is with my body, I cannot be without him." But then they [the Davydovichs and Mstislav] sacked a town belonging to Prince Igor', and there was great wealth there; and they burned his mansion and his barns, in which were 1,000 large stacks of wheat; and they burned and laid barren everything there. All this they did. From thence they sent [booty] to Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev and they, themselves, went against the city of Putivl', which was the domain of Sviatoslav Ol'govich. But the people of Putivl' did not want to surrender as long as Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev should not come thither; only then would the people of Putivl' surrender. He [Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich] assigned there his own namestnik from Kiev, and whatsoever in Putivl' was the property of Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich, was all sacked. When Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich learned that his city of Putivl' had been taken, that all his property was sacked and that all [the armies of Iziaslav Mstislavich] were ready to march against Novgorod Severskii in order to besiege him there, and that after capture he would be blinded and handed up to an evil death, he rapidly escaped to the fortified town of Karachev. But Prince Iziaslav Davydovich, grandson of Sviatoslav, great-grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, pursued him with 14,000 warriors, intending to capture, alive, him and all those who were with him.[56]

55. According to *Laur*, Bishop Joachim of Turov was also arrested.

56. More detailed than *Laur*.

Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich, however, together with Prince Ivan Iur'evich, Prince Ivan Rostislavich, Prince Vladimir Sviatoslavich, and with the Polovets Khan Emgazei—the latter with Polovetsian troops—marched against Prince Iziaslav Davydovich, and Sviatoslav Ol'govich overcame him. Prince Iziaslav Davydovich fled to Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, Grand Prince of Kiev, and their kinsmen, and they all marched against Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich, who escaped from the city of Karachev and fled to the Viatich land. Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev took all his estates and wealth and all his domains and cities and gave them to Prince Iziaslav Davydovich and his brother, Vladimir Davydovich. He did so because these two brothers were the children of his kinsman.[57] And as for the possessions and wealth of Sviatoslav Ol'govich, all this was taken by Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev and was sent to Kiev. **1146**

At that time Prince Igor' Ol'govich, brother of Sviatoslav Ol'govich—who had been captured by Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev and who was imprisoned in the stone dungeon of the Monastery of St. John in Pereiaslavl', heavily guarded—heard that Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich had gathered many warriors and campaigned against his own brother, Sviatoslav Ol'govich. He grieved nearly to death and was completely exhausted. Yet having some breath on his lips, he sent a message to Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, shedding tears and weeping much, saying, "Please! Do me a kindness. Order that I be tonsured into monastic orders so that I should not see an evil death take my brother, Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich of Chernigov." Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev ordered His Holiness Euthemius, Bishop of Pereiaslavl', to tonsure him, and Bishop Euthemius came and tonsured him on the fifth day of the month of January. Then he was removed from the prison in Pereiaslavl' and was sent from Pereiaslavl' to Kiev, to the Monastery of St. Theodore, and there he received the schema.[58]

57. *Nik.* provides an erroneous genealogy for these Davydovichs. Both Vladimir of Chernigov (-1151) and Iziaslav, also of Chernigov (-1161) were the children of Davyd Sviatoslavovich and great grandchildren of Iaroslav the Wise.

58. Schema: the second, extremely severe, degree of monastic vows prohibiting the tonsured person from communicating with the world. According to *Laur.*, this schema tonsure occurred Jan. 5, 1147.

1146 In the meantime Prince Iziaslav Davydovich and his brother, Vladimir Davydovich, pursued Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich to Briansk, while the latter's nephew, Prince Sviatoslav, son of Vsevolod Ol'govich, remained in the city of Karachev. Then Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich reteated to Kozel'sk, from whence he proceeded to Dedoslavl', where Prince Ivanko, son of Prince Iurii Vladimirich [Dolgorukii], grandson of Monomakh, lay gravely ill. Thereafter Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich marched toward Riazan' by way of Mtsensk, Tula, Dubok on the Don, Elets, and Pronsk, and so he came to Riazan' on the Oka.[59] And marching up the river Oka, he stopped in the town of Osetr. There he was abandoned by Prince Ivanko Berladnik, son of Rostislav, grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav and gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir.[60] And he went to his father, Rostislav , to the city of Smolensk. In the meantime, Sviatoslav marched up the river Oka and came to the place where it is joined by the river Porotva, in theplace called "Liubinets Omosov [now, Liubutsk]. He sojourned there, intending to go to Kolotsk.[61] There Prince Iurii Vladimirovich, son of Monomakh, sent him 14,000 armored men as aid from Suzdal'. Learning of this, Prince Iziaslav Davydovich with his brother, Vladimir Davydovich, did not dare to follow him and returned from Dedoslavl'.

The same year on the twenty-ninth day of March Prince Ivanko Iur'evich [son of Dolgorukii], grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, died while staying with Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich in Liubinets Omosov, which is located in the place where the river Porotva joins the Oka. His brothers, Prince Boris Iur'evich and Prince Gleb Iur'evich, took his body to their father, Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirovich [Dolgorukii], son of Monomakh, Prince of

59. Old Riazan' of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was on the river Oka, about thirty miles southwest of present Riazan'. It was destroyed during the Mongol invasion. Present Riazan' used to be called "Pereiaslavl' Riazanskii."

60. Ivan, or Ivanko Berladnik, was the son of Rostislav Volodarich, who was prince first in Galicia and then in Smolensk. He descended from Vladimir, the son of Iaroslav the Wise, not from the line of Vsevolod, Vladimir Monomakh and Mstislav the Great.

61. Kolotsk: also called Kumtesk, Kultetsk, Kulosesk. See PSRL, Vol. VII, p. 241.

Suzdal', while Sviatoslav Ol'govich went further up the Oka, re- **1147**
maining in friendship and concord with Grand Prince Iurii [Dolgorukii] of Suzdal', son of Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh.

The same year on the thirtieth day of the month of April the pious princess, nun Marina, daughter of Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh, passed away, and she was buried in the holy church of the monastery in which she had been tonsured.

The same year four stone churches were built: in Smolensk, in the location called Smedyn', the Church of the Holy Passion Martyrs Boris and Gleb; in the city, itself, the church in the name of the Holy Supreme Apostles Peter and Paul, as well as the Church of the Holy Prophet, God-Seer Elijah; and the Church of the Holy Miracle Workers Cosma and Damian, who never cared for money. The same year there was a portent in the skies: the sunshine disappeared and the moon was blood-colored.

In the year 6655 [1147]. Grand Prince Iurii [Dolgorukii]of Suzdal', son of Vladimir Monomakh, grandson of Vsevolod, great-grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, assembed his warriors and marched against the city of Novyi Torzhok, taking it and occupying many districts of the river Msta. He ordered Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich, grandson of Sviatoslav, great-grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, to campaign in the regions of Smolensk, and the latter occupied the city of Goliad', as well as other districts, and returned to Riazan'.[62] Then Prince Iurii of Suzdal' sent him his messenger to say, "We should see eye to eye and end our lives in love and concord in Christ, united against our enemies and ready to lay down our lives for each other." So, agreeing, they met in Moscow—Grand Prince Iurii [Dolgorukii] from Suzdal', Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich from Teshilov, Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich of Riazan' with his son, Oleg, as well as Prince Vladimir Sviatoslavich.[63]

CONSECRATION OF CLEMENT AS METROPOLITAN OF RUSSIA BY RUSSIAN BISHOPS

The same year the Grand Prince of Kiev, Iziaslav, son of

62. *"Goliad":* the Russian name of a Lithuanian tribe living then in southern Belorussia; also called *Golindos.*

63. This is the earliest mention of Moscow in the Russian chronicle. Cf. *Hyp.* 6665 (1147); *PSRL* II, page 339.

1147 Mstislav, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, great grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, took counsel with his Russian bishops [concerning the appointment of a new metropolitan] since, owing to the feuds and many difficulties, it was impossible to go to Constantinople to the patriarch in order to have a metropolitan of Russia consecrated there. They held counsel and referred to the Holy Apostolic rules, which say, "When there are two or three bishops, they may appoint another bishop."[64] And so six bishops assembed and elected Monk Clement Smoliatich to be Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, taking him from the tranquility of his cell. This one had diligently observed silence and had remained apart from people, strictly observing prayer and respecting Divine Scripture. He had already received his [second monastic order of] schema and was very erudite, a good teacher and a great philosopher. He left many writings which he wrote, himself. He was consecrated in Kiev on the twenty-seventh day of the month of July when Holy Great Martyr Panteleimon is remembered.[65]

Many, however, among the bishops and other clergy and monks, as well as laymen, were indignant and upset by Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, saying, "He forced them [the bishops] to do this without the blessing of His Holiness the patriarch of Constantinople, and his sacred council. There is the rule that the Russian metropolitan should be appointed by His Holiness, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and his sacred council, which encompasses the Cathedral of Holy Sophia."[66]

The same year Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich made peace with the Polovetss near the fortified town of Voina near Riazan'. Then Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich returned to his capital of Kiev

64. This quotation is not in *Laur.*

65. It was agreed practice between Russia and Constantinople that all heads of the Russian church would be appointed in Byzantium. The only previous exception was the appointment of Metropolitan Hilarion in the time of Iaroslav the Wise. Only a few writings by Clement Smoliatich were preserved. See texts and discussion of his works in Nikolskii, N.K., *O literaturnykh trudakh Metropolita Klimenta Smoliaticha, pisatelia XII veka,* SPB 1892; and new interpretations of his ideas in Zamaleev, A.F. and Zots, V.A., *Mysliteli Kievskoi Rusi,* Kiev, 1981.

66. The speech of Bishop Manuel of Smolensk, close to *Hyp.*, not in *Laur.*

while the Polovetss went into the prairie, to their camps.[67] **1147**

The same year there was a portent on the sun and that night there were thunder, lightning and very strong winds.

The same year Saim Chiugak, a Polovets prince, died.

The same year Grand Prince Iurii [Dolgorukii] of Suzdal' sent his son, Prince Gleb, to Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich. When Gleb came to Sviatosalv Ol'govich he began to assemble warriors and then the Polovetss also came to Sviatoslav Ol'govich. He gathered his army and marched, taking the cities of Briansk, Oblovesk,[68] Reviagoresk and Dorobinesk along the Desna river, as well as the town of Domogoshch in the Viatich land.[69] Then he went to Mtsensk, from thence, to Kromy to Prince Iziaslav Davydovich. There he was met by a messenger with a petition from Prince Vladimir Davydovich and from his brother, Iziaslav Davydovich. These brothers were descendants of Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, and were sons of the sister of Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh; and they all took an oath on the lifegiving cross that they should all unite. They came to the city of Chernigov and reconfirmed their unity there; but they also were in secret contact with Grand Prince Iurii of Suzdal', and after taking counsel they further strengthened their unity.

The same year from Elets, from the region of Riazan', Prince Andrei Rostislavich came to Chernigov to [Princes Vladimir and Iziaslav] Davydovich.[70] After taking counsel, they made a strong agreement of unity. The same year Grand Prince Vladimir Davydovich and his brother, Iziaslav Davydovich, both of Chernigov, sent their messenger to Iziaslav Mstislavich, Grand Prince

67. As in *Laur.*

68. Probably, later, Obolensk.

69. The Viatich land was on the upper Oka between the upper course of the rivers Moskva, Don, Seim and Desna. In *Hyp.*: "Bleve" in place of "Oblovesk" (possibly later Obolensk), Deviagorsk in place of Reviagorsk, and Dobriansk in place of Dorobinesk. The Viatichs remained independent from the "Riurikid" princes till the early XIIth century, but thereafter became part of the principalities of Chernigov and Suzdal'.

70. Andrei Rostislavich: probably, prince of Murom and sometimes of Riazan', grandson of Iaroslav. His father was the son of Iaroslav Sviatoslavich, from Sviatoslav's line of Iaroslav the Wise's sons.

1147 of Kiev, telling him deceitfully, "Sviatoslav [Ol'govich] has occupied all our land and the lands of the Viatichs, and others. We did not discuss this with him; but he has the intention of occupying more of our lands. What can we do, since because of him we have become completely impoverished? We do not want to delay further but want to assemble troops and march against him."

At that time Sviatoslav Vsevolodich came to Kiev from Chernigov to Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich who cared for him greatly. Then Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich discussed [the situation] with his councillors and with Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, his sister's son, and he said, "Whatever should I do? Should I fight against Sviatoslav Ol'govich or not?" Having held counsel with his councillors, he sent forward his sister's son, Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, to the grand princes of Chernigov: Prince Vladimir Davydovich and his brother, Prince Iziaslav Davydovich. Sviatoslav Vsevolodich came to them and told them all he had heard [in Kiev]. They decided to unite and again sent to Kiev, saying, "Why do you delay? You, yourself, on many occasions have wanted to campaign against Prince Iurii Vladimirovich [Dolgorukii], son of Monomakh, and Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich, because of their misdeeds. Do not procrastinate but march forthwith. It is time!"

Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, together with his brother, Prince Vladimir Mstislavich, went to his spiritual father, Clement, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, and told him, "I would like to campaign against Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich and Iurii Vladimirovich, son of Monomakh, together with Prince Vladimir Davydovich and his brother, Iziaslav Davydovich, and with Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich and the latter's brother, Rostislav Vsevolodich." His Holiness, Clement, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, forbade it, saying, "Do not march, yourself, nor send your troops." But Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich did not like this and summoned all his boiars and his warriors and all the people of Kiev, telling them the same as he had told the metropolitan: "I intend to march with all the princes and many warriors, with the levies of Smolensk and Novgorod, and with the Berendeis."

[TUMULT IN KIEV]

The people of Kiev told him, "Prince! Do no have faith in

what the Davydovichs say. You have no common path with them. **1147**
Do not join them to campaign against your uncle, Iurii Vladimirovich, son of Monomakh, because none of us want to fight the descendants of Vladimir Monomakh, and we should have no feud among us; but if you want to fight the Davydovichs, then we will march with you." He did not give heed to them but said, "Whosoever wants may march with me," and he himself, went, having assembled many warriors, and crossed the river Dnieper, camping at the river Chortorii. From thence he sent into the city of Chernigov a certain Uleb, a very wise man devoted to him, to reconnoiter secretly everywhere and [to inquire] of everybody about all happenings, and then to inform him secretly so that no one should learn of it. Then he went toward the Suboi, leaving his brother Vladimir Mstislavich [of Volynia] in Kiev.

The most wise Uleb went to Chernigov and investigated secretly everywhere and everyone, and he learned that the grand princes of Chernigov, Vladimir Davydovich, and his brother, Prince Iziaslav Davydovich, with Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich had pledged on the lifegiving cross to Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich and to Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich [Dolgorukii], son of Monomakh, that they wanted deceitfully to kill Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev. Having exacted all this, the most wise Uleb in the same hour rapidly hurried to his lord, Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev; and he came to his camp on the Suboi and told him all that had occurred. "They have all united against you—the princes of Chernigov and of Riazan', as well as Iurii Vladimirovich [Dolgorukii], son of Monomakh, Prince of Suzdal'. They expect the arrival forthwith of the princes of Suzdal' at their place. They are all united and stand together; and they want deceitfully to kill you."

He [Prince Iziaslav of Kiev] was verily affrighted and turned toward home; and he sent his messenger to those in Chernigov to expose their conspiracy; and he renounced his pledge to them on the cross; and he sent ahead to Kiev, to his brother, Prince Vladimir Mstislavich, [of Volynia], saying, "Go to our spiritual father, Metropolitan Clement, and ask him to summon the people of Kiev so that our father, the Metropolitan, and you, my brother, Prince Vladimir Mstislavich, as well as all the people of Kiev, may learn of the deceit of the princes of Chernigov, Suzdal' and

1147 Riazan'—who have knavishly plotted against me and sought to snare me in a net, willing to take me prisoner in it and to get great bounty. I did not listen to what my spiritual father, Clement, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, said; nor did I heed you, my beloved people of Kiev; and I was ready to perish completely; but I was protected by Lord God and by the Most Pure Theotokos and by the lifegiving cross of Christ on which they pledged to me. Now remember your words, my beloved people of Kiev, when you promised me to campaign against the Davydovichs of Chernigov. Now the time has come, my beloved people of Kiev! Help me [to fight]—some of you on horseback, some of you in boats on the water, against my and your enemies, because my enemies wanted not only to kill me but they also wanted to uproot you all to the last one."

And they said, "We are ready to fight for our lord, Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, and we are ready to march—some on horseback and some in boats on the water; but we fear only one thing, which already happened in the time of Grand Prince Iziaslav, son of Iaroslav, grandson of Great Vladimir. At that time the people of Kiev liberated from prison Grand Prince Vseslav of Polotsk, the son of Briacheslav, grandson of Iziaslav, great-grandson of Great Vladimir. He was caught and imprisoned in Kiev in a dungeon, with his children, and [the people of Kiev liberated him and] put him on the throne of the Grand Principality of Kiev. This time our prince and our enemy is not in fetters, nor in prison nor guarded; but he is in the most populous city of Kiev, living in the monastery of St. Theodore, and he is prepared to do [what was done before]. We are his enemies and he, ours. Of course, he is a monk; but we fear him and want to kill him, for then there will be no more [threat] in our rear; and then we will go fight for our prince."[71]

THE MURDER OF [FORMER] GRAND PRINCE IGOR' OL'GOVICH OF KIEV

Clement, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, forbade it them, saying, "Do no such thing! Do not kill monk Igor', former grand prince of this city of Kiev, the son of Oleg, grandson of Sviatoslav, great-grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Great

71. This text is close to *Hyp.* 6655.

Vladimir. If you do, you will draw the wrath of God upon you, and you will never be able to extinguish the enmity of his brethren and his kinsmen toward you for all the ages." Grand Prince Vladimir Mstislavich and tysiatskii Lazar', and another tysiacki, Roguila Vladimirich, also forbade them to kill Prince Igor'. **1147**

Then two boiars sent to them by Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich approached, saying, "Our lord, Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, has sent us to you in order to prevent you from killing Igor' Ol'govich, who already is a monk; he only orders you to be prepard to march against the enemy." But the Kievans began shouting and ran rapidly to kill the one-time prince, now monk, Igor' Ol'govich. Prince Vladimir Mstislavich pursued them on horseback and followed them, but there was an endless amount of people in the city of Kiev, walking and crowding the streets, and Prince Vladimir Mstislavich was unable to pass by them in order to arrive ahead in time at the monastery of Prince Igor' Ol'govich, so as to hide him from them. He turned his horse to the right in order to pass Gleb's mansion because he wanted to hurry, but he did not succeed. The people of Kiev arrived at the Monastery of St. Theodore in order to kill Prince now monk Igor' Ol'govich and they found him in the holy church, standing, as usual, at the Eucharist in the Church of St. Theodore; and they took him from the church during the Eucharist and bore him from the monastery; but there, in the gate of the monastery, they were met by Prince Vladimir Mstislavich, who told them, "Oh, my lords and brothers, people of Kiev! Do not commit this merciless deed against your former lord, former Grand Prince of Kiev, Igor' Ol'govich, who has received the angleic orders of monk, and the schema. If you fear his plotting, then he must be placed under guard." And he took Prince, now monk, Igor' and covered him with his cloak, telling the Kievans, "My lords and brothers, people of Kiev—kill me, rather; but have mercy on him!" And he bore him to his mother's estate; but the people of Kiev began to beat and push Prince Vladimir Mstislavich; then Prince Mikhalko, seeing this, jumped from his horse and tried to help Prince Vladimir Mstislavich.

Prince Vladimir Mstislavich hurried to his mother's mansion with the once prince, now monk, Igor' Ol'govich, and closed the

1147 gates and took him onto the porch, where the fur mantles were. The Kievans began to beat Prince Mikhalko, tore a cross from him, as well as gold chains and a necklace, and then ran toward the grand princess' mansion, hacking the gates to pieces. Entering the yard, they saw the once prince, now monk Igor' Ol'govich on the porch and stormed it, broke down the porch and pulled him from it and killed him. At the same time, Prince Mikhalko fled them.

After they had killed the former prince, now monk, Igor' Ol'govich, they attached a rope to his leg and rapidly dragged him to the Babin [Women's] market. Then, coming to the great market, they went to the marble church of the Most Pure Theotokos and laid him in a cart and took him to the Podol,[72] where they threw him, naked, into the marketplace. Many bypassers wept there, seeing their former Grand Prince of Kiev, Prince and monk, lying naked, thrown upon the marketplace.

Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, his tysiatskii Lazar', and Roguila, tysiatskii of his brother, Prince Vladimir Mstislavlich, went to the marketplace, picked up the body of the once prince, now monk, Igor' Ol'govich, lying dead and naked, having been thrown upon the marketplace; and they put him in the Novgorodian chapel of the Church of St. Michael. On the morrow, Saturday, Clement, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, sent thither Anania, abbot of the Monastery of St. Theodore. The abbot approached, saw Prince [monk] Igor' Ol'govich lying naked and covered with blood, and wept, saying, "Oh, evil human vanity! Whose fate had he to follow, and why did he suffer? Oh, woe to us, who live in this madding age! Where is love for one another? Where is mercy? Verily, all has vanished and perished." And he put upon him clothes befitting dead monks, sang over him the customary chant befitting the deceased; and fear and awe overcame everyone in the church: all fled from the church because there was great thunder and lightning, and a column of light stood over the church from the ground to the heavens; and the earth quaked. The people took fright and said, "God have mercy upon us!" For a long time the people were afraid asking, "What will happen?" Then they returned to the church and saw that the candles had lit themselves, and there was a strong light and a

72. *Podol*: the lower section of Kiev, near the Dnieper.

great fragrance; and all were astonished. Then they prayed and bore him honorably to the end of the city, to the Monastery of St. Simeon; and they buried him in a new stone tomb. Thereupon they sang over him the ritual songs befitting the dead; and when it was proclaimed, "Memory eternal!" there was not one who did not shed tears over him, who had suffered in vain, being a monk and already in schema, and who once was their lord, former Grand Prince of Kiev, [later]monk, Igor' Ol'govich, grandson of Sviatoslav, gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir; who was killed on Friday and who was buried in his tomb on Saturday. **1148**

When the news of his murder reached the city of Chernigov, his brethren and kinsmen wept greatly, as did all the people. Prince Vladimir Mstislavich sent his brother, Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, telling him of the tragic death of Prince [monk] Igor' Ol'govich. Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich[73] grew sad and wroth at the people of Kiev, saying, "They have created forever unquenchable hatred among us, his brethren and his kinsmen." He sent to Kiev for his brother, Grand Prince Vladimir Mstislavich, and he dispatched his messenger to Smolensk for his other brother, Rostislav Mstislavich.[74]

The same year in the region of Riazan' in the city of Kazari there were miracles from the Icon of the Holy Paraskeva-Piatnitsa, and many people were cured.

The same year Konstantin, posadnik of Novgorod, passed away.[75]

The same year the Polovetss were defeated near Novgorod in the Seversk land, with the help of God and His Most Pure Theotokos.

In the year 6656 [1148]. His Holiness, Bishop Nifont of Novgorod, went from Novgorod to Suzdal' to Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirovich [Dolgorukii], son of Monomakh, reconciling him and the Novgorodians; and he was received there with love and honor; then in the city of Suzdal', with imposing ceremony, consecrated the stone church of the Nativity of the Immaculate

73. Prince Iziaslav Mstisalvich was with his army between Kiev and Chernigov.

74. *Nik.* text of Prince Igor's murder is close to *Laur.*

75. As in *Novg. Syn.*

1148 Theotokos. [Prince] Iurii honored the visiting bishop, returned him the [arrested] people of Novotorzhok and the merchants of Novgorod whom he had captured earlier, and he let them go home in good health and with their wares. Bishop Nifont also left for Novgorod with many gifts, having been greatly honored by [Prince Iurii]; but the latter did not agree to peace with Novgorod and plotted war against them.[76]

The same year in Novgorod of the Seversk land, tysiatskii Ivan Bogdanov passed away. The same year in Novgorod-Severskii Prince Ivan Ol'govich passed away.

The same year Prince Gleb, son of Iurii [Dolgorukii], grandson of Monomakh, went on order of his father, Prince Iurii of Suzdal', to Grand Prince Vladimir Davydovich of Chernigov, as well as the latter's brother, Prince Iziaslav Davydovich, and Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich to render them help.[77]

Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich invited him to come [to Kiev] but instead of that he marched, campaigning against the son [of Iziaslav],Grand Prince Mstislav of Pereiaslavl'. In so doing, however, he did not succeed in the least for Mstislav Iziaslavich assembled in Pereiaslavl' a strong army, and even had there the bogatyr', Demian Kudenevich.[78] Prince Gleb Iur'evich became seized by fear and retreated from Pereiaslavl' with great losses. He lost many people and went to Riazan' to join Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich. On his way he took the city of Kursk and assigned his own namestniks throughout the whole land of Kursk. With him came Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich and Prince Iziaslav Davydovich, and during their march they took the city of Popash, marching against the town of Vyrevets, as well.[79] But Vyrevets did not want to surrender. Then he went to the town of Evkhanets, but the people of Evkhanets also did not want to submit to him.[80]

76. As in *Novg. Syn.*

77. As in *Laur.*

78. *"Bogatyr'* " Demian Kudenevich is not mentioned either in *Laur.* or in *Hyp.* Obviously, this is a later, sixteenth century, addition based on some epic oral material. The appearance of epic (*bylina*) folklore material in the writings of that century was characteristic of the time. It could have been inspired by mention of the town, Kudnevo, in *Laur.* 6657(1149).

79. "Vyroev," in *Hyp.*

80. Evkhanets is not mentioned in *Laur.* or *Hyp.*

Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, learning that the Ol'govichs [princes] had united their forces and had occupied his children's cities, gathered a large army and marched with his brother, Prince Vladimir Mstislavich, with his voevodas and with Stanislav,[81] voevoda of his uncle, Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, grand prince of Vladimir in Volynia, and with all the levies of Volynia. Arriving at the Black Hills [Chernye Mogily] he was joined by his brother, Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Smolensk, who came to his aid with the levies of Smolensk. From thence they went together to the river Sula. Hearing this, they [the Ol'govich princes] marched back to Chernigov. **1148**

Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev campaigned and took the city of Vsevolod, usually called "Unii,"[82] and the towns of Belaia Vezh' and Bakhmach, from which many people fled to Chernigov. He [Iziaslav] went further, taking another three cities, and returned to Kiev, where he let his brother, Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich, return home to Smolensk.

Prince Gleb Iur'evich then marched to Riazan' and, remaining near the towns of Chervlenyi Iar and Velikaia Vorona, he returned to aid the princes of Chernigov. When Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev learned of this, he sent to him, inviting him to come to Kiev. He promised to go but did not go. For a while he remained in Novgorod in the Seversk land, when the boiars began to ask him to go to Pereiaslavl' to assume the rule there over the grand principality, "Because all the people of Pereiaslavl' want you." He followed their advice and rapidly marched closer to Pereiaslavl'.

Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich was still lying abed before dawn when he heard that the advance troop of Pereiaslavl' had been forced to retreat to Pereiaslavl'. He quickly rose, sent for his troops and himself hurried to bogatyr' Demian Kudenevich, whom he told, "Oh, man of God! The time has now arrived for divine aid and the aid of the Immaculate Theotokos, as well as for your bravery and your strength." Demian Kudenevich at once mounted

81. This Stanislav is not mentioned in *Laur.*; but is in *Hyp.*, p. 364. *Kloss*, p. 188, remarks that the name, Stanislav, sounds questionable in *Nik.*, but apparently he did not check *Hyp.*

82. Also written "Iunii," in other *Nik.* mss; "Unenezh" in *Laur.*

1148 his horse, as did his squire, Taras,[83] and five youths of very young age, who also mounted their horses. It was not quite clear but they all dispersed—one hither, another, yon. In the meanwhile, Demian Kudenevich rode rapidly on horseback with his squire, and in the field near the suburb he encountered Prince Gleb Iur'evich. He attacked his troops and mercilessly killed very many of them. Prince Gleb Iur'evich took great fright and fled quickly back, sending an envoy to Demian Kudenevich to say, "I came hither for concord and peace, not to fight." Demian Kudenevich with his squire, Taras, returned to Pereiaslavl' and was greatly honored by his lord, Grand Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich.

The same year a great many Polovetsian warriors assembled with the Davydovich [princes] and Prince Gleb Iur'evich, and took the city of Degin. Secretly, they marched toward Pereiaslavl' against Grand Prince Mstislav Iziaslavovich; and at night, already at dawn, they arrived at Pereiaslavl', set fire to the suburbs without anyone knowing that they were being attacked by an [enemy] army. They surrounded the city, where great confusion and weeping prevailed. Then Demian Kudenevich rode out alone from the city, with no armour but God's help, and he slew many warriors; but he was shot by the Polovetss and, wounded, returned to the city. [The enemy]warriors were, however, seized by fright and rapidly fled, each to his own home. Demian, however, was dying from his wounds and therefore Grand Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich hurried to him, promising him many gifts and power; but he answered, "Oh, this is but human vanity! Who, being dead, can care for perishable gifts and for fleeting power?" After that, he slept the eternal sleep and there was great lamenting for him in the city.[84]

The same year Konstantin, tysiatskii of Riazan', killed many Polovetsian warriors during their raid.

The same year Prince Gleb, son of Iurii [Dolgorukii], grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, campaigned against the city of Gorodets[85] entering it. Learning of this, Grand Prince Iziaslav

83. *Sluga*: squire.

84. This text follows primarily from *Laur*. and, somewhat *Hyp*. The story of Demian Kudenevich, though, as mentioned above, is later interpolation based on folklore and the heroic epics, the "byliny".

85. Gorodets: a town on the eastern bank of the Dnieper, near Kiev.

Mstislavich of Kiev assembled many warriors and Berendeis, and marched against him. The latter, fearing him, pledged on the lifegiving cross [not to fight]. Receiving his pledge on the honorable cross, Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich returned to Kiev. Thereafter Prince Gleb sent a message to Chernigov to Grand Prince Vladimir Davydovich and his brother, Iziaslav Davydovich, as well as to Sviatoslav Vsevolodich [of Kursk], saying, "I was forced against my will to give a pledge on the honorable cross to Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev. As before, however, I still remain with you, and you should act according to the following promise: 'Whosoever be your friend, the same is mine; and whosoever be your enemy, the same is mine.' " And again, as in the past, he remained firmly with them. **1148**

The same year Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirovich [Dolgorukii] of Suzdal', son of Monomakh, sent his other son, Prince Rostislav, to help the Ol'govichs and the Davydovichs against Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev; but while he was journeying thither, messengers from Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev reached him offering honor and gifts, inviting him to come to Kiev, and promising him cities and domains. Prince Rostislav Iurievich took counsel with his warriors, saying "My father should not be wroth at me that I do not go to our enemies, the princes of Chernigov, because they [the Ol'govichs] were the enemies of my grandfather and my uncle" [who are Monomakhovichs]. And he went to Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, sending ahead a message. [Prince Iziaslav] greatly rejoiced and dispatched his own men to meet him. They all came together to the city of Kiev and Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich was very happy about him [Rostislav]; he banqueted with him, and rejoiced, and gave him a city of God which was actually called thus: "*Mezhi bozhie*" ["God's Frontiers"], and together with it the city of Kotelnitsa, and two other towns.[86]

When Prince Gleb Iurievich heard of this he took fright and went to his father, Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich [Dolgorukii] of Suzdal', son of Monomakh, while Prince Rostislav took over Gorodets, entered it and placed his own namestniks in all cities.

The same year the Ol'govich and the Davydovich [princes] of

86. Close to *Laur.*, the towns of Mezhibozh'e and Kotelnitsa are not mentioned in *Laur.*, but are in *Hyp.*

1149 Chernigov made peace with Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, and they decided not to take revenge for their brother, Prince Igor' Ol'govich [who had been killed in Kiev], saying, "We are unable to resurrect our brother, Prince Igor' Ol'govich. Let Lord God bestow celestial gifts on him in place of earthly ones, and in place of dishonor, give him unspeakable glory in Heaven."

The same year Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev sent his son, Prince Iaroslav, to Novgorod to be prince there, and he took his brother, Sviatopolk Mstislavovich, from thence for his misdeeds and gave him the city of Vladimir [in Volynia].

In the year 6657 [1149]. Prince Roman Rostislavich, grandson of Mstislav, married the daughter of Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich.

The same year Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev went to help the Novgorodians against his uncle, Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich [Dolgorukii] of Suzdal', son of Monomakh, because he injured the Novgorodians. With him were Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Smolensk, all the Novgorodian and Pskovian levies, the Berendeis, the levies of Galich and the commanders of the armies of the kings of Hungaria and Bohemia, as well as the Poles with their army. They all met at the mouth of the river Medveditsa, and from thence sent their envoys to Suzdal', to Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich, son of Monomakh. He [Prince Iurii Dolgorukii] sent back the envoys but did not send with them his own; then he marched along the Volga to Sniatin, and from thence to Uglich, Pol'ie, and then to the river Mologa, and even as far as the city of Iaroslavl'. He campaigned, slew and burned, and took over 7,000 captives. The princes Ol'govich and Davydovich of Chernigov agreed to meet him at the mouth of the Medveditsa, but not reaching the Medveditsa, they camped in the land of the Viatichs, awaiting whatever developments might be between them and Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich [Dolgorukii] of Suzdal', son of Monomakh. It was already the beginning of spring and many of their warriors were tired and their horses lame.

Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev disbanded all his armies—the Hungarians, Czechs and the Poles—and he, himself, went to Novgorod with his brother, Vladimir Mstisvlavich.[87] From thence he and his brother, Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of

87. Hungarians, Czechs, and Poles are not mentioned in *Laur.* or *Hyp.*

Smolensk, went toward Smolensk, where he spent the fall. From thence he returned to Kiev, and there was great joy in the city of Kiev. **1149**

[THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN IZIASLAV OF KIEV AND IURII DOLGORUKII OF SUZDAL']

[I: Dolgorukii's first victory over Iziaslav.][88]

At that time some evil people started plotting and calumniating Prince Rostislav Iur'evich [son of Dolgorukii], saying the following to Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich: "Prince Rostislav Iur'evich has drawn to himself many people of Kiev, as well as the Berendeis; and he wants to ascend to the Grand Principality of Kiev. His father, Iurii Vladimirovich, son of Monomakh, is your enemy; therefore his son, Prince Rostislav, is also your enemy, but you support him against yourself." Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavovich of Kiev became greatly upset and took counsel with his boiars. Then he took from him [from Rostislav] all his cities and domains and wealth and possessions, arms and horses, boiars and servants, and he arrested them all. Some he put into irons and others he locked in stone dungeons, and attached strong guards to them, while yet others were deported to some other cities and were imprisoned in jails. He sacked Prince Rostislav's [domains] put him in a boat and sent him to his father in Suzdal', to Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirovich, son of Monomakh, with only three followers. He [Rostislav] came to his father, Prince Iurii, and told him all that had occurred, and his father, Prince Iurii, grew greatly outraged and told those present, "How does it happen that I and my children have no part in the Russian land?"[89]

And he began to assemble an army, dispatching envoys to Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich and to his cousin, Sviatoslav Vsevolodovich, telling them the following: "This man [Iziaslav of

88. The *Nik.* text of the struggle between Iurii Dolgorukii and Iziaslav of Kiev is very close to *Laur.* but often differs in details and narrative manner from *Laur.*, and especially from *Hyp.* The *Nik.* version is more detailed and reflects the use of some other source than *Laur.* or *Hyp.* It is the most extensive account (some 30 pp.) about the princes' struggle in the Kievan era, 1149-1155. In view of its length, the editor has divided it into chapters and provided the titles.

89. Here, "the Russian land" designates the region of Kiev and Pereiaslavl', which was the cradle of the entire dynasty.

1149 Kiev] is our enemy. He killed your brother [Igor'] and seeks your heads. He is also my and my childrens' enemy, and wants our heads. Let us unite against him. Then, perhaps, he will take fright, repent and do such evil no more."

So they mustered their warriors and sent for the Polovetss and also for the Hungarians, Czechs and Poles; and they began to campaign on the twenty fourth day of the month of July.[90] They came to the town of Vlekhania,[91] where they were joined by the princes of Chernigov; then they camped at Belaia Vezh', [White Tower] remaining there one month waiting for the Polovetss, as well as for the submission of Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev. He was nowise affrighted, however, and not only sent them no envoys but did not even direct a single word to them. Then they marched to Pereiaslavl', joined the Polovetsian troops and camped there, awaiting his submission; but still he took no fright and not only sent them no envoys but did not even send them any message; and he told the boiars with him, "If my uncle, Prince Iurii, were to march only against me and my children, I would not fight him; but he brings my enemies, the princes of Ol'govich of Chernigov, and Polovetsian troops against me. Therefore I can have no peace with him." He spoke thus, relying on the multitude of his warriors as well as on God's help, because God when He wants submits one, but when He wants to elevate one, He does so; and He elevates from the earth a poor man, and from the dung heap, a pauper; and He places him alongside the powerful; and he will then inherit the throne of glory. Lord God bestows grace on the meek but He resists the proud. [Luke 1:52. Ps.51:17. Jacob 4:6 Paraph.]

Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev sent for his brother, Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Smolensk, and for his other brother, Grand Prince Sviatopolk of Vladimir [in Volynia]. Prince Iurii Vladimirich [Dolgorukii], son of Monomakh, however, came with all his [allied] princes and with his great multitude of warriors and camped near the Kudenov village. At the same time Prince Vladimir Mstislavich was in the outpost at Pereiaslavl', and Prince Iaropolk Mstislavich was with the people of Porokh [Poroshane].

90. *Laur.* mentions only Hungarians and Poles.

91. "Vykhan'ia," in *Laur.*

Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich marched fiercely to Pereias- **1149**
lavl', entering the city, and an endless number of troops joined him there; but Bishop Euthimius of Pereiaslavl' told him, "It would be better to make peace than to wage war against your uncle. Make peace with him and all blessings will be upon you." Also, the people of Kiev attempted to persuade him [to make peace]. At that time Prince Iziaslav Davydovich came to aid him. Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich of Suzdal', son of Monomakh, remained there five days and then readied his troops for battle at dawn, and they marched from Striakova mountain. Then he camped on Mezhi-Volovy[92] and this place is called thus. Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich gathered many troops, arrayed them in fortified positions near the marshes, and the next day after attending Eucharist in the church of St. Michael, he departed from the church; but Bishop Euthimius of Pereiaslavl' forbade it him, saying, "Prince! Make peace with your uncle and thus you will receive blessings from Christ-God and will preserve your dominion from great misfortunes for many years." But he [Iziaslav] did not want peace, relying on the multitude of his troops, and said the following: "I won the grand principalities of Kiev and Pereiaslavl' by my great labor and sweat, and now you suggest that I give up my dominions!" Euthimius, bishop of Pereiaslavl', however, was speaking to him of love and peace and not of relinquishing the Grand Principality of Kiev. He [Grand Prince Iziaslav] marched against Prince Iurii Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, toward Ianko's village, where Prince Iurii was camped. And they remained, one opposite the other, from dinner till vespers. Thereafter Prince Iurii retreated and [Grand] Prince Iziaslav followed him, and when the sun began to set the two armies marched against each other and there was a great and fierce battle. The first to flee were the levies of Porokh and Prince Iziaslav Davydovich; and then the levies of Pereiaslavl'; and then the Berendeis; and then the levies of Novgorod; and then the levies of Galich. Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, himself, fled to Kiev, with only two other men; and this happened on August twenty third when the Holy Martyr Lupus is remembered. When he arrived in Kiev he took his wife, his children, his trea-

92. "Oxen's Limits"; not in *Laur.*

1149 sury and all his attendants and fled to Lutsk.[93]

The next day after the battle, in the morning, Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich [Dolgorukii-Monomashich] entered Pereiaslavl', remained there for three days and then went to Kiev, leaving his son, Prince Rostislav, in Pereiaslavl' as Grand Prince. At that time Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, who was in Lutsk, began to muster troops of Hungarians and Czech[94] auxiliaries. Likewise, King Boleslav [of Poland] and his brother, Henrik, sent him help. For his part, Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich [Dolgorukii Monomashich] was also joined by his brother, Viacheslav, and then the detachments from Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich also came to his aid. Prince Vladimirko of Galich, himself, marched to help him and, arriving at Shumsk, he camped there and was joined there by many Polovetss. Meanwhile, Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich departed Lutsk and rallied his troops, including the Hungarian and Czech soldiers who had come to aid him; but when the Hungarians and Czechs learned that Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich [Dolgorukii-Monomashich] had a great multitude of soldiers they became greatly frightened and left Iziaslav, saying, "Prince! You did not succeed in bringing together all your troops; you were supposed to be against your enemy with your entire force, but now you must arrange peace with him."

Prince Rostislav, with his brother, Prince Andrei [Bogoliubskii], both sons of Grand Prince of Kiev Iurii Vladimirich [Dolgorukii-Monomashich], marched forward and arrived at the river Moravitsa;[95] by night their troops were seized

93. The intervention in Kievan politics by Iurii Dolgorukii of Suzdal' was of major historical significance. This Suzdalian interference reflected the growth of political power in the Oka-Volga region of northeastern Russia, which two centuries later became known as Muscovite Russia. It was concomitant to the decline of the Kievan region, which was being undermined by internecine feuds, Polovetsian incusions and Kiev's diminishing importance as a pivotal center for trade between Scandinavia and Byzantium. Finally, it pointed up the disintegration of a unified Russian power and the simultaneous strengthening of such outlying regions as Suzdal', Novgorod, Galich and, to a lesser extent, Chernigov, Riazan' and Polotsk, which were becoming the hereditary domains of separate branches of the so-called "Rurik" dynasty.

94. Hungarians and Poles, in *Laur.*

95. "Muravitsa," in *Laur.* and *Hyp.*

by a great panic and the Polovetss became so frightened that they **1149**
fled together with their commander, Temir Khodzha; and then all the other troops also fled. Only Prince Andrei Iurievich [Bogoliubskii] stood firm with his guard—but even those, seized by fear, wanted to flee. The next morning everyone came together and they retreated, and camped at Dubno, expecting help from his [Andrei's] father, Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich [Dolgorukii-Monomashich]. When they received the news that his father was marching toward them with the latter's brother, Viacheslav Vladimirich Monomashich, they rejoiced greatly and marched up to Lutsk, where Prince Vladimir Mstislavich, the brother of Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, was in command.

The foot soldiers of Lutsk made a sallie and started shooting at [Andrei's] troops. Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii marched against them but he broke his lance against the body of an enemy and then the [Lutsk] footmen killed many of his warriors, and they came against Prince Andrei Iurievich [Bogoliubskii], himself, hit his horse with two lances, and with a third lance struck his saddlebow, while the people from the city pummeled him with stones. One of the enemy footmen even came toward him with a bare lance and wanted to strike him, but God preserved him because, as it is known, pious people may escape danger.

And so Prince Andrei [Bogoliubskii], being in great peril because of those footmen, prayed to God, saying, "God help me! I may undergo the same death as Iziaslav Iaroslavich!"[96] And he called to his help the Holy Great Passion Martyr, Theodore, and he raised his hand with his sword and [at once] all the soldiers fled from him. And so no harm came to him from any of them; only one of his young guards was killed at that time, out of only two guards who were with him in this unfortunate encounter. And so he left on his wounded horse with but one other guard.

When his father, Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich [Dolgorukii-Monomashich] and his brothers, Prince Rostislav, Boris and Mstislav, sons of Iurii, saw him returning to them alive, they embraced him and even wept with joy, saying, "Why, our beloved, do you bring yourself into such peril? Going in this way against the city, you could have been your own murderer and you

96. See the year 1078. Iziaslav was killed by the lance of a foot soldier.

1149 could be dead despite fate. It was not bravery but misunderstanding and ignorance [of the military craft]." After reprimanding him, they consoled him and removed his armour and found that despite several wounds, there was not much blood. His stallion, however, was badly wounded in several places. As soon as he rode this stallion back to his father, it fell dead. Andrei ran up to his horse, forgetting his own wounds, and wept over him because, despite such wounds and being sorely injured it had yet carried him back, away from the enemy. And he ordered that the ground be dug and a wooden frame be put there, and that his horse be thus buried.

The next day Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich [Dolgorukii] Monomashich moved to attack the city of Lutsk; the foot men [from Lutsk] made sallies and there was much fighting. They remained at the gate of the city for three weeks and cut off the water supplies, wherefore Prince Vladimir Mstislavich, brother of Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, who was in command in the city, grew wearied, as were the other people in the city. Seeing this, Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich sent to Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich, relative-in-law of Grand Prince Iurii [Dolgorukii], saying, "Brother! Arrange concord and peace between me and my uncle, Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich Monomashich, although I admit that I am guilty in everything before God and before him." Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich told his relative-in-law, Grand Prince Iurii, about this proffer of peace and Grand Prince Iurii wanted to confirm it; but his son, Prince Rostislav, as well as Prince Iurii Iaroslavich, grandson of Sviatopolk,[97] were against peace and told Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich Monomashich [Dolgorukii] not to conclude a peace with Iziaslav. Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich again asked for peace but this time Iurii's son, Prince Rostislav, and [Iurii Iaroslavich's brother], Andrei Iaroslavich, grandson of Sviatopolk [Iziaslavich] opposed Iurii's intention of making peace. Thereupon Iurii's son, Andrei [Bogoliubskii], a God-loving, people-loving and merciful man, importuned his father, saying, "Father! Why do you heed those who do not want peace? Accept and pardon your nephew, Grand

97. Iurii Iaroslavich, prince of Turov, was the grandson of the former Grand Prince of Kiev, Sviatopolk Iziaslavich (1093-1113), the latter being the grandson of Iaroslav the Wise.

Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, and then you surely will be pardoned by God. Thus you will protect your domain; and among us, your [and his] children, there will be no hatred from generation to generation. Conclude peace with him and confirm it with a pledge on the saintly cross, so there will be concord, and we will be mightily strong against our infidel enemies." **1150**

And so they made peace among them and went to Peresopnitsa, the domain of Grand Prince Viacheslav Vladimirovich Monomashich; and they made a pledge on the saintly cross. Becoming confirmed in concord by pledging on the saintly and lifegiving cross that they be united and in harmony, they departed to their [new] homes: Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich went to the Grand Principality of Vladimir [in Volynia], while Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich [Dolgorukii] Monomashich went to the Grand Principality in Kiev.

The same year Prince Igor' Davydovich came from Riazan' to Kiev to Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirovich [Dolgorukii].

The same year the Polovetss took Torchesk[98], and they raided and burned the towns and villages.

The same year the Novgorodians fought the Suzdalians and the Novgorodians took a position on an island. The Suzdalians took their position opposite them and began to besiege them in boats. On the third day the Novgorodians marched against them to fight them and there was a fierce battle with many falling on both sides.[99]

The same year the Iem' marched against Novgorod but the Novgorodians marched against them and killed over 500 of them.[100]

In the year 6658 [1150]. Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh, Prince of Suzdal, became grand prince of Kiev and began pondering his situation, saying, "It does not behoove me to be grand prince of Kiev because there are brothers older than I;" and he sent for his brother, Viacheslav Vladimirich, [also] a son of Monomakh. The sons of Prince Iurii Dolgorukii did not want the latter to come to Kiev; but Prince Iurii Vladimirich did not heed his children and therefore they

98. The main city of the Torks, Turkic allies of the Russian princes.

99. As in *Novg. Syn.*

100. As in *Novg. Syn.*

1150 began to hold counsel with his father's boiars. The boiars assembled and went to Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh, to say, "Do not give the Grand Principality of Kiev to your brother, Prince Viacheslav. He will be unable to keep it and it will be neither your brother Viacheslav's nor yours nor your childrens'." And so the boiars protested, not permitting him to do as he wanted. Prince Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh, listened to his boiars and he, himself, ascended to the Grand Principality of Kiev. He removed his son, Andrei Bogoliubskii, from the principality of Vyshgorod, and gave the Grand Principality of Vyshgorod to his brother, Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich, son of Monomakh.

The same year the men of Kiev conspired secretly because they wanted Viacheslav to be grand prince of Kiev; they loved him for his simplicity and thought he would rule them according to their desires.

The same year the Polovetss raided Kursk, taking many prisoners, then went home.

[STRUGGLE BETWEEN IZIASLAV OF KIEV AND IURII DOLGORUKII OF SUZDAL', cont.]
[II: The First Return of Iziaslav to Kiev.]

The same year the men of Kiev conspired secretly because they wanted Iziaslav Mstislavich again as Grand Prince of Kiev. When Iziaslav Mstislavich learned of this, he marched stealthily from the city of Vladimir [in Volynia] to Kiev. Arriving there, he drove out from Kiev Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh, and Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich Monomashich Dolgorukii went with his children to Gorodets.

Ascending to the Principality of Kiev, Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich greatly rejoiced with his boiars and sent his son, Mstislav, to Kanev in order to march from thence to Pereiaslavl'. The latter marched and made contact with Turbii,[1] summoning him to his aid. Prince Rostislav Iurevich learned of this and sent his envoy to his father, Prince Iurii Vladimirich Monomashich Dolgorukii, asking for help: the latter sent his son, Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii, Rostislav's brother to aid him. Then Prince Rostislav

1. Turbii: perhaps "Turbeg," apparently a Polovetsian khan: "Turpei," in *Laur.*

Iur'evich left his brother, Prince Andrei Iurevich Bogoliubskii, in Pereiaslavl', while he, himself, rapidly marched to Sakov. He took Turbii prisoner at the river Dnieper and, having caught him, brought him to Pereiaslavl'. **1150**

[STRUGGLE BETWEEN IZIASLAV OF KIEV AND IURII DOLGORUKII OF SUZDAL', cont.]

[III. Vladimirko and Dolgorukii again defeat Iziaslav]

At the same time, Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich marched against Kiev, against Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, in order to help his relative-in-law, Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh; but then Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev sent for his son, Prince Mstislav, saying, "Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich is campaiging against me, and from the other side Prince Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh, is marching against me with the Ol'govich and Davydovich princes. Hurry to me as quickly as possible and bring the Berendeis." Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, together with his brother, Vladimir Mstislavich and his own son, Mstislav, marched against Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich, encountering him while the latter was maneuvering near Tumash and took up a position on the river Stugna. There his archers began shooting across the river, while Grand Prince Vladimir of Galich resolutely advanced with his forces. When the Berendeis and the other warriors of Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich saw the numberless host of Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich they took fright and told Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, "Let us retreat. Large and numberless are his forces, while you have only a small army. You know the bravery and the multitude of the army of Galich. Let us retreat as soon as possible before they cross the river because then we will verily be in a sorry plight." But Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev said, "It is better to die than to live in shame." The men of Kiev, nonetheless, tried to persuade him: "Escape to Kiev, and then you can fight from within the city fortifications with the whole army." But he did not want this and while they were talking they saw that the host of Grand Prince Vladimirko was crossing the river in many places. The Berendeis took fright and fled, as did the Kievans and Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, himself. Prince Vladimirko followed their path with his troops and took some of them prisoner, and some they slashed and killed.

1150 When Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich came rapidly to his troops in Kiev, he ordered them to gather at Dorozhich and, waiting until nightfall, he left Kiev. In the meantime Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich went thither and camped at the Little Palace, while Prince Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh, came to Kiev with the Davydovich and Ol'govich princes, camping at Chartoroi. He sent Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich and his own son, Prince Boris, after Iziaslav Mstislavich and they pursued him to the Chertov Les [Devils' Forest]. Unable to catch up with him, they returned.

Leaving Kiev, Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich took Pogorina and assigned his son, Mstislav, to Dorogobuzh. The people of Kiev, however, were afraid of Prince Vladimirko of Galich and admitted Prince Iurii Vladimirich Monomashich Dolgorukii into Kiev. The latter encountered Prince Vladimirko of Galich at the Church of the Holy Theotokos in the Cave Monastery, and they agreed upon complete concord between them. Thereupon, Prince Vladimirko returned to his dominion of Galich, taking with him Dolgorukii's son, Mstislav. While he marched toward Dorogobuzh with Prince Mstislav Iur'evich, Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich escaped from Dorogobuzh and went to Lutsk to his uncle, Sviatopolk. Meanwhile Prince Vladimirko of Galich occupied all those cities and marched toward Lutsk against Sviatopolk Mstislavich. Sviatopolk Mstislavich and Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich prepared themselves for a siege in the city of Lutsk; and therefore, when he [Vladimirko] arrived he could do nothing against them and returned to his dominion in Galich, after appointing Prince Mstislav, son of Iurii Dolgorukii, to Peresopnitsa.

The same year the Polovetss were defeated at Velikaia Vorona [Great Crow], near Riazan'.

The same year the Polovetss came to help Prince Iurii Dolgorukii against Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, and they caused the latter great evil.

The same winter Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii gave his son, Andrei Bogoliubskii, the cities of Turov, Pineg, Dorogobuzh and Peresopnitsa; and Andrei settled in Peresopnitsa. The same winter Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich on several occasions sent to Prince Andrei Iurievich [Bogoliubskii] saying, "My lord and brother! Please arrange peace and concord between me and your

father, Prince Iurii Vladimirich [Dolgorukii]." These messages, **1150**
however, were insincere because he [Iziaslav] was scheming with flattery and because those who carried the messages were spying on [Prince Iurii's] army, his armaments, the fortification of the city and what had been constructed in it. Again Iziaslav Mstislavich sent to Prince Andrei Iurievich Bogolubskii, saying, "My fatherland lies among neither the Czechs nor the Hungarians nor the Poles, but only in the Russian land. Please intercede with your father, Prince Iurii, for peace and concord with me and ask him to give me Pogorina." But Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh, was angry at him and did not want to accept his suggestions, nor did he want to give him any dominion.

[STRUGGLE BETWEEN IZIASLAV OF KIEV AND IURII DOLGORUKII OF SUZDAL', cont.]

[IV. Iziaslav's Second Return to Kiev, where he and Viacheslav Co-rule]

The same winter, however, Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich learned secretly that the people of Kiev wanted him to rule as grand prince over the Grand Principality of Kiev, and that all Viacheslav's men and all the Berendeis also wanted him to be in the Grand Principality of Kiev. He greatly rejoiced and sent them the following message, secretly: "Nothing is so dear to me as your affection, and I care only for your salvation and your well-being, and I want only to please you in every respect, according to Christ. And I love you so much that I am ready to sacrifice my life for you."

The same winter the Polovetss again raided Russia[2] and doing much harm, they returned home.

The same winter Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich rallied the Hungarians, Poles and Czechs, and so had a very large army. He marched against Kiev, against Prince Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh: he passed Peresopnitsa, [in Volynia], burned Zarechsk and camped when he arrived at Mylsk. Vladimirko of Galich was unaware of this and sent Prince Vasilko Iaropolchich to Prince Andrei Iurievich, inviting him to a banquet. Prince Andrei Iurievich Bogoliubskii went to him and, camping on his way at Mylsk, sent an advance guard ahead for the

2. "Russia" here once more denotes only the region around Kiev and Pereiaslavl'.

1150 reason of caution. This advance troop went forward. When Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich learned that Prince Vladimirko of Galich and Prince Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii were moving, he forthwith began to march against Kiev as soon as night fell. The advance guard of Prince Vladimirko and Prince Andrei caught part of his train [*sakma*] on the river Ros, while he went far beyond the fortification, past the marshes and beyond the rivers. Both Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich and Prince Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii wondered what this part of the train [sakma] meant because he knew nothing about it.[3] When Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich approached Belgorod, Prince Boris Iur'evich learned that he had a vast army with him and he [Prince Boris] fled from Belgorod to his father, Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh, who was in Kiev. The latter became very afflicted and started to weep. "Woe is me! How can I escape from Iziaslav Mstislavich? Whither should I flee? There is no way to be done with him. Verily, he is my and my childrens' enemy!" Although he learned that [the enemy army] was close and was advancing with large forces against him, he nonetheless assumed that the people of Kiev greatly loved him, as well as Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, especially because of the latter's simplicity, and wanted him as grand prince of Kiev. Nevertheless, he departed and fled in the morning from Kiev, going to Gorodets.

Vladimirko of Galich and Grand Prince Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii, however, were unaware of this and began to ponder concerning [Iziaslav's] part of the train. Sending scouts, they learned that Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, had been cast out of Kiev by Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich and had gone to Gorodets, and that Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich had entered Kiev to become grand prince there. Thereupon Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich took fright and returned to his dominion of Galich and let Prince Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii go to his father, Prince Iurii Dolgorukii, in Gorodets. When the latter came to his father he embraced him sadly and wept long, saying, "Woe to us, how can we escape from our enemy, Iziaslav Mstislavich?"

3. That is, he knew nothing about Iziaslav's campaign.

Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich ascended his throne of the Grand Principality of Kiev. Greatly rejoicing, he summoned all the people of Kiev to him, embracing and kissing [them] and then he told them the following: "You are my joy, my intercession and help in Christ. You are my fathers and my mothers, and I am your servant and I have the obligation to sacrifice my head on your behalf!" Speaking thus, he rejoiced and consoled everyone and moved all to weeping and tears of joy. Then he said to them, "I know that your love far exceeds my worthiness; and therefore I want you to believe how much I love my uncle, Viacheslav Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, and that I want him to come to us in Kiev." And they all said, unanimously, "This is worthy and true. If you love him, than we also will esteem him." And he sent to Vyshgorod for Grand Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, saying, "You should be in the place of my father. I greatly sinned toward you because I did not honor you, but now Kiev is yours. You must come hither to become Grand Prince." Viacheslav Vladimirich came to Kiev and they embraced each other and there was great concord between them, and together they both ascened to the throne of the Grand Principality of Kiev. **1150**

Iziaslav Mstislavich recognized the seniority of his uncle, Grand Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, and acted as though he were his son and his junior in all that was done; and he behaved toward him as toward his lord and his father, keeping him in the grand principality of Kiev in the place of his own father. And in this way he let go from Kiev a large number of soldiers: the Czechs, the Poles, the Hungarians, so that they could go to their kings with great honor and gifts because the King of Hungaria was the son-in-law of Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, and the King of Bohemia was his relative-in-law, and therefore there was firm concord among them. Then Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev sent to them his son, Prince Mstislav, with [a message of] concord and honor. He also informed his brother, Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Smolensk, that he had cast out Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh, from the grand principality of Kiev and that he was united in concord with his uncle, Grand Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich, son of Monomakh; and he also told how he had sent for the latter and placed him in the grand

1151 principality of Kiev, regarding him as his lord and father; and he proclaimed all this with great joy, enjoining him to come forthwith; but to be careful and on his guard during his journey so as to protect himself from possible action by Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh.

The same year in spring Rostislav Iur'evich [son of Dolgorukii], Grand Prince of Pereiaslavl', grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, passed away in his grand principality in Pereiaslavl'. It was Good Friday and his brothers, Prince Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii, Prince Gleb Iur'evich and Prince Mstislav Iur'evich, buried him in the church of St. Michael in the vicinity of his uncles, Prince Sviatoslav Vladimirich Monomashich and Prince Andrei Vladimirich Monomashich and the latter's son, Mstislav.

[STRUGGLE BETWEEN DOLGORUKII AND IZIASLAV OF KIEV, cont.]

[V. Dolgorukii Resumes the War]

In the year 6659 [1151]. Grand Prince of Pereiaslavl', Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh, as well as his children, felt greatly offended because of [the loss of] the grand principality of Kiev and they began to assemble a large army. They sent to Riazan' but there was no help from thence. Then they sent for aid to the princes Ol'govich and to the Davydovichs and to the Polovetsian khans. In such wise, together with the Ol'govichs, with Prince Vladimir Davydovich and with Prince Vladimir Andreevich, his nephew,[4] as well as with his children and the Polovetss, having a large army, he marched against Kiev, against the grand principality of Kiev, [against] his own brother, Viacheslav Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, and against his nephew, Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich. Drawing nigh, they camped on a meadow across from Kiev, putting up many tents, and with large forces they lay siege to the city. Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev and Grand Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, resisted them stoutly and would not allow them to ford the river Dnieper, and fought them on the water, maneuvering in boats.

It was Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich who had the ingenious idea of using boats in the battle in such a way that the oarsmen in the boats were invisible. Only the oars were slightly

4. Prince Vladimir Andreevich a grandson of Monomakh.

visible but not the soldiers. Although their arrows were flying at **1151**
the enemy, they could not be struck by the enemy arrows because they were very wisely protected by the boards. They were swift as birds and, being in armour, could shoot as they wanted. In each boat there were two helmsmen, one fore and one aft. And thus they could move as they wanted—either forward or backward, without turning the boats. And their manner of fighting was very frightening to the enemy.

Grand Prince of Pereiaslavl', Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh, moved rapidly with the Ol'govichs, the Davydovichs, with the Polovetss and with the entire army, toward the Vytechev ford, but the Kievan boatsmen did not yield to them. Then they went to Lake Duleb and from thence along the shore to the river Zolotitsa, and then along the Zolotitsa, reaching the Dnieper by a valley. In the meanwhile the Polovetss marched through the meadow. The grand prince of Kiev, Iziaslav Mstislavich, marched on that side of the river Dnieper along the hill, while his boats were moving on the Dnieper. When they came to the ford of Vytechev they lined up the armies, one opposite the other, and there was a fierce battle and the Kievan boatsmen overcame the enemy. Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, himself, fought bravely with them, not permitting the enemy to ford the Dnieper. The Polovetss became very angy and started plotting in the most evil way, and told the Grand Prince of Pereiaslavl', Iurii Dolgorukii, and all his princes, "You should remain here with your princes and all your warriors and try most courageously to ford the river, and you should not relent, but try to cross at the Vytechev ford. We, though, will go further secretly and look for a place where we will be able to cross the river Dnieper." So they proceeded hither and thither and came to Zarub, but that place was defended and [those] would not permit them to cross the Dnieper, but fought fiercely with them. Nonetheless, as if mad, they mounted their horses and in armour and with shields and lances, shooting like evil devils, some forded and some swam, ever shooting, and in such wise they covered the river Dnieper with a great host of warriors. Then the Kievan defense took fright and fled.

When Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich learned that the Polovetss had crossed the Dnieper he returned to Kiev. The

1151 Polovetss came to Kiev and camped near the river Lybed' . . .[5] Iziaslav aligned his troops opposite him before the Golden Gate, together with his uncle, Viacheslav, while Iziaslav Davydovich took up his position between the Golden Gate and the Jewish Gate across from Borislav's estate. Rostislav with his son, Roman, took a position before the Jewish Gate, and Boris of Gorodets arrayed his troops before the Polish Gate. The men of Kiev sent all their forces, both on horse and on foot. Their positions were between their princes; and so there was a great host of them around the city. Then Viacheslav addressed Iziaslav and Rostislav, "Brethren! Now we are ready! Iurii is my brother, a junior one; but nonetheless I want to send to him and determine my seniority; and then we will be judged before God, for God sees untruth." Iziaslav and Rostislav also said, "Father! Do thus."

Then Viacheslav told his man:

"Go to my brother, Iurii, and embrace him on my behalf. And you, my brothers and sons, listen to me because I send him in your presence. He should say the following to my brother: 'Brother, on many occasions I have told you and my nephew, Iziaslav, do not shed Christian blood. Do not destroy the Russian land.' Therefore I was trying to reconcile the two of you and I was not speaking on my own behalf of how you had offended me. Although I now have my host with me, and God has given me strength, I do not remind you of this offense because of the Russian land and the Christians. Yet, I must tell you that when Iziaslav went to fight Igor', he said, I am not fighting for Kiev on my own behalf but on behalf of my father, Viacheslav. And therefore God helped him against them. But he took not only Kiev [from me] but he also took from me Turov and Pinsk; in such way did Iziaslav offend me. And then you, brother [Iurii], when you went to Pereiaslavl' to fight Iziaslav you also told me, I do not want Kiev for myself, but for my senior brother, Viacheslav, who is as a father for me. Then God helped you [Iurii] and not only did you take Kiev for yourself [not for me!] but you also dispossessed me of Peresopnitsa and Dorogobuzh [in Volynia]. In such a way did you offend me, and you left me only Vyshgorod. But I did not

5. Some lines are missing here. In *Hyp.* there is a further description of the battle over the Dnieper and Dolgorukii's crossing of the river. *Laur.* also provides a short description of this phase of the war.

discountenance all this for the sake of the Russian land and the **1151**
Christians. I only wanted to unite you; but you did not heed me and said, Not I, but God should judge you. And you [Iurii] also told me, I can now bow to a junior man [Iziaslav]. This Iziaslav also trespassed his promises, twice. But now that he has won Kiev, he has bowed to me and rendered me honor and has set me on the throne of Kiev, and has called me his father. And I called him my son. And although you told me, 'I can not bow to a junior man,' yet I remind you that I am your senior because I already had a beard when you were just born. And now you want to fight against your senior brother? Woe! If you march against me, then God will be the judge of all."

And he sent his messenger with these speeches to Vasilev, where Iurii was encamped. Viacheslav's envoy went to Iurii and delivered to him all these speeches; and that one addressed the envoy, responding, "I, brother, bow to you. You are right. You are to me the same as my father [was]. And if you want to settle everything with me, then Iziaslav must go to Vladimir in Volynia, and Rostislav to Smolensk, and the rest we will settle among ourselves."

But Viacheslav answered him, "You have seven sons and I do not take them away from you; but I have only two sons, Iziaslav and Rostislav, and they are young. But if we divide [justly] the Russian land and the Christians, then you must return to Pereiaslavl' and to Kursk with your children. You also have there the city of Rostov the Great and other cities. And you must send away the Ol'govichs, and then we will settle everything alone without shedding Christian blood; and you should do this in your own way, in the same way as you came hither." Then he looked at the icon of the Holy Theotokos which was painted on the Golden Gate and said, "Our Lady and Sovereign, Our Theotokos, with Her Son and with Our God, will judge us. And so it will be in this age and in the future one." Saying this, he sent his envoy back to him.

When morning came ....[6] Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev and Grand Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, and Rostislav with his son, Roman, and Prince Izias-

6. Line missing. *Laur.* continues, "Iurii came to Kiev and the armies were displayed on both sides of the river Lybed', and they started fighting for the river Lybed'."

1151 lav Davydovich and Prince Vladimir ranged their hosts of men-at-arms near the city, while the archers were shooting across the river Lybed'. At that time the Berendeis were rapidly approaching with their train with the Torks, and with all the *Chernye Klobuki*[7], and they perpetrated much evil, burned towns and villages, destroyed orchards and devastated everything. Nonetheless, when Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich Dologorukii, son of Monomakh, Grand Prince of Pereiaslavl', received the news that his relative-in-law, Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich, was marching to his aid, he moved closer to him.

Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich and Grand Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, hearing of this, gathered all the princes with all their forces and marched after him, because they feared he would join Vladimirko. On the third day, before he [Iurii] could join Vladimirko, they caught up with him at Perepetovy and arrayed their armies. They wanted to commence fighting on Thursday, but there was a violent rainstorm with wind, and all the soldiers became drenched, as if they had been flooded by the sea. Hence, they [Iziaslav and Iurii] wished to make peace. The Olgovichs and the accursed Polovetss, however, did not want a peaceful solution because they cared only for blood; so they remained till evening and on the next day, Friday, at dawn, Iziaslav drew up his troops and advanced. Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii of Pereiaslavl', however, did not want to fight because he expected that Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich would come to his aid. Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, aware that Vladimirko of Galich was approaching to aid the other, began to advance faster against him [Iurii], and he moved his regiments against him.

When they clashed Prince Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii began to muster his father's regiments; he did it because he was senior among his brothers, and also because he had prestige with the Polovetss. Encouraging them for battle, he went to his own regiment and strengthened the spirit of his guards, then took his lance up and moved to the onset with his guards. Before everyone else, he encountered the enemy and broke his lance. At that time

7. Berendeis, Torks and Chernye Klobuki: "Black Cowls" (*Kara Kalpak*)—Turkic, semi-nomadic tribes allied primarily with the Kievan princes. Apparently, they were fighting Iurii Dolgorukii.

a lance hit his horse in the nostrils and he began to sway to and fro, his helmet fell off and he lost his shield. Thanks to divine intervention, however, as well as to the help of the Most Pure Theotokos and to the prayers of his father, he was protected and remained unwounded. When the two armies came together there was a fierce and stubborn battle and the good, peaceful and meek Grand Prince Vladimir Davydovich of Chernigov was killed there, as well as a great host on both sides; many Polovetss were also killed. **1151**

Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev was sorely wounded and was thrown from his horse, and the people wanted to kill him because they did not recognize him; but he took off his helmet and he was recognized, was set on his horse, and all rejoiced over him.

Meanwhile, Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh, Grand Prince of Pereiaslavl', seeing his misfortune, wept bitterly and fled to Pereiaslavl', together with his children. The Ol'govichs fled to their homes, while the Polovetss also fled back to their places. Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev with his uncle, Grand Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, Grand Prince of Kiev, returned to Kiev. Prince Iziaslav Davydovich took up the body of his brother, Vladimir Davydovich, Grand Prince of Chernigov, who had been killed in the battle, and went to Chernigov and buried him in the Holy Church of the Savior, and himself ascended to the throne of the Grand Principality of Chernigov.

When Iziaslav Mstislavich learned that Prince Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh, remained in Pereiaslavl', he marched with his uncle, Viacheslav, with his brother, Sviatopolk, and with the Berendeis and camped near the village of Mazhevo; from thence he attacked the city, burning the suburbs, and many fell on both sides. Then the grand princes of Kiev —Viacheslav Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, and Iziaslav Mstislavich—sent to the grand prince of Suzdal', Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh, to say the following: "Return to your grand principality of Suzdal'. Be content with it and do not seek others' dominions. Who instructed you in such violence and in the appropriation of others' dominions? You can go to Suzdal' and if you want, you can put your son in Pereiaslavl'. We can not

1151 remain here together, you and I, because you brought the Polovetss against us."

Since Iurii Dolgorukii had no help from anywhere because some of his warriors had been killed and others captured, he was obliged, together with his children, against his will to pledge on the saintly cross, and marched to Alta. At that time it was the holiday of the Holy Passion Martyrs Boris and Gleb; therefore he left his son, Prince Gleb of Pereiaslavl'. From Alta Prince Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii marched to Suzdal'. His father, Prince Iurii Dolgorukii, tried at length to convince him [to fight Iziaslav] but he did not obey his father and told him, "Father! Father! Why do we behave so vainly? We are all mortal. Today we live and tomorrow we may die. Why do we not understand the vanity of this world? Remember that you gave your oath and pledged on the saintly cross together with us, your children. At what can we succeed in this vain life? The Lord said, 'What is the benefit for a man if he acquires the whole world but loses his soul?'" And weeping greatly and shedding tears, he went to Suzdal'.

[STRUGGLE BETWEEN IZIASLAV OF KIEV AND IURII DOLGORUKII OF SUZDAL', cont.]

[VI. Iziaslav Struggles anew against Vladimirko and Dolgorukii]

Prince Iurii Dolgorukii, however, returned from Alta to Pereiaslavl' with his children.

[Informed of Dolgorukii's rupture of his pledge] the grand princes of Kiev—Viacheslav Vladimirich Monomashich and his nephew, Iziaslav Mstislavich—sent to him, announcing, "You pledged on the saintly cross that you would not remain in Pereiaslavl' and that you would go to the grand principality in Suzdal'. Now you and your children remain in the grand principality of Pereiaslavl' and are ready to lead the Polovetss and your relative-in-law, Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich, against us." Then Prince Iurii Dolgorukii left his son, Gleb, in Pereiaslavl' and, himself, went to Gorodok.

At that time Mstislav, son of Prince Iziaslav, was bringing Hungarian and Czech troops to aid his father.[8] As soon as Vladimirko of Galich learned of him, and that he was coming with Hungarians and Czechs, he followed them secretly so that they

8. In *Hyp.*, only Hungarians are mentioned.

would not know of it. Mstislav Iziaslavich halted at Sopogin' and **1151**
the Hungarians and Czechs camped around him. Then Vladimirko[9] sent the Hungarians and Czechs much to drink and they became drunk. Then he sent word to Mstislav that he, Vladimirko of Galich, was marching with great forces against him [Mstislav]. But they [the Hungarian and Czech troops], being drunk, began to boast, "We are ready to fight them." That night Mstislav stationed guards and he, himself, went to sleep among the Hungarians and Czechs; but at midnight guards quickly ran to him, saying, "Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich is marching with strong forces." Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich at once mounted with his retinue and they attempted to awaken the Hungarians and Czechs, but they were lying dead drunk. The very night when early dawn came, Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich thrust into them, killing many and taking many prisoners. He bound them and sent them to Galich, while Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich barely managed to escape to Lutsk with a small troop.

When his father, Iziaslav Mstislavich, Grand Prince of Kiev, learned of this, he marched against Prince Iurii Dolgorukii, who was in Gorodok; and with him marched Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich of Chernigov, Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, a voevoda with the armies of Sviatoslav Ol'govich, and the Berendeis. They came to Gorodok but Prince Iurii Dolgorukii with his children prepared themselves for a siege in the city. Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev burned the suburb and laid siege to the city. They fought against the city for many days and the people of the city became altogether wearied. Then Prince Iurii Dolgorukii importuned and persuaded and bowed deeply and pledged again on the saintly cross: "This time I will go to my grand principality in Suzdal' with my children." Then he gave an oath, "I will never return hither or stay here." And they permitted him to go. He left his son, Prince Gleb, in Gorodok while he, himself, went to Suzdal' with his other children.

Thus Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich and his uncle, Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich Monomashich, returned and settled in Kiev. Viacheslav remained in the large palace, Iziaslav in the

9. *Nik.* erroneously reads, "Vladimir Mstislavich" instead of "Vladimirko Volodarich."

1152 Podugorskii Palace,[10] and he assigned his son, Mstislav, to Pereiaslavl'.

The same year the wife of Prince Iziaslav passed away.

The same year Iziaslav went against Vladimirko but returned from Karachev.

In the year 6660 [1152]. Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev took Gorodok,[11], a town of Prince Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii's, burned it, tore it asunder and resettled its people.

[STRUGGLE BETWEEN IZIASLAV OF KIEV AND IURII DOLGORUKII OF SUZDAL', cont.]

[VII. Iziaslav and the Hungarian King go against Vladimirko of Galich][12]

The same year Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev sent his son, Mstislav, to his son-in-law, the king of Hungary,[13] as well as to the kings of Bohemia and Poland, summoning them to his aid against Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich. Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich came back, together with his brother-in-law, the King of Hungary, and with the entire Hungarian army, in order to fight Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich. The kings of Bohemia and Poland did not come, but the Hungarians did, and the king with his Hungarians marched with Mstislav Iziaslavich; and the king sent to Iziaslav, saying, "My father! I bow to you. You sent for me because of the offense inflicted upon you by the Prince of Galich, and I have come now and you should march at once. Let us not decide anything but await God's judgment between him and us." As soon as Iziaslav heard this he assembled his troops and marched, taking with him Viacheslav's army and all the Chernye Klobuki [Black Cowls], who are also called *"Cherkassy,"*[14] and the

10. *Podugorskii Palace.* Palace under the Hungarian Hill in the city of Kiev.

11. Gorodok, a town on the river Oster between Chernigov and Kiev, was an important fortress commanding the approaches to Kiev from the northeast.

12. This more detailed story of Iziaslav's Galician campaign is translated on the basis of *Laptev ms.*, which is close to *Hyp.*

13. King Geza II of Hungary, 1141-1162.

14. "Cherkassy" is a 16th-17th century term for the nomadic Turkic or Cossack population of the middle Dnieper.

best Kievan levies, and all the Russian troops.[15] When he arrived **1152**
at Dorogobuzh he was joined by his brother, Vladimir.[16] From hence they marched to Peresopnitsa and in Peresopnitsa they were joined by Vladimir Andreevich [grandson of Monomakh, Prince of Dorogobuzh]. And then there came to him also, from the city of Vladimir [in Volynia], his brother, Sviatopolk, with his own regiments.[17] And so they proceeded together to the king. Iziaslav did not take Sviatopolk but left him in Vladimir, although he took the latter's troops with him. Iziaslav marched from the city of Vladimir with his armies along the route of the king, on which he once had marched against Andrei Vladimirich and Iaroslav Sviatopolchich. When Iziaslav arrived at the river San he marched along it to Peremyshl', crossing the river San, and camped there. The king's envoy came to meet him with 400 men-at-arms, and he told Iziaslav, "Your son-in-law, the king, greets you and requests the following: 'It is the fifth day that I have been awaiting you, so come faster.'" Hearing this, Iziaslav marched post haste. On the morrow Iziaslav came to the town of Iaroslavl' and, passing it, stoped to sup. Here he was joined by the king's commander with a regiment of over 1,000 men. Having supped and prepared his troops, Iziaslav marched to the king. When he reached the vicinity of the latter's troops the king mounted his horse and went joyfully with his men to meet Iziaslav. They embraced each other in great amity and, after riding, sat down in the king's tent and began deliberating how, on the morrow, they would go to fight at the river San.

[STRUGGLE BETWEEN IZIASLAV OF KIEV AND IURII DOLGORUKII OF SUZDAL', cont.]

[VIII. Hungarian Intervention and Vasil'ko's Defeat]

[First version, according to *Laptev ms.*]

Early the next day the king commanded that the drums be sounded, drew up his troops, moved forward and sent to Iziaslav, saying, "Come closer with your troops, because when I stop then

15. Again, the term "Russia," is used here to denote only the region of Kiev and the middle Dnieper.

16. Vladimir Mstislavovich, Prince of Volynia.

17. Sviatopolk Mstislavich, Prince of Polotsk, grandson of Monomakh.

1152 you, too, stop, and then we will decide how to conduct the battle." Iziaslav answered the king, "My son, so be it." Thereupon, he went toward the river San below the city of Peremyshl', and here they camped with all their regiments. Meanwhile, Vladimirko camped on the other side of the river with his forces. The king had seventy and three detachments besides Iziaslav's; and they marched into the land of Galich, the land of Vladimiko; but since it was Sunday, according to his habit the king would not campaign on Sunday. Therefore, in order not to let their armies enter his land, Vladimirko went to meet them and captured the king's scouts.

On the morrow the king arose and pressed forward, while Vladimirko retreated behind the fortress and camped there. Then the king began to move his regiments to the fords of the river San, while the men of Galich aligned their regiments opposite him on the other shore; but they could not repulse the king. Vladimirko came with his troops and the king displayed his host across from him, while Iziaslav went up the river with his own regiment, looking for other fords. Marching, he went farther than the king toward another ford, while several Hungarian regiments bypassed Iziaslav, going still further up the river, also to a ford. Seeing this, Iziaslav addressed his troops: "My brothers and men-at-arms! God has never let the Russian land and the sons of Russia be in dishonor, and everywhere you have won honor. Now, my brethren, let us betimes bestir ourselves in this land lest those of a foreign tongue [the Hungarians] should, and God will let us have our honor." Finishing his speech to the army, Iziaslav forthwith proceeded to the ford with all his regiments. Seeing that Iziaslav's regiments were marching, the king commanded his to do likewise, but they would not . . .[18] Because Vladimirko sent them much of his wealth, the King said, "I cannot kill him since he implores me and repents of his misdeeds. But if today he comes to pledge on the cross and then trespasses it, it will be as God decides concerning me and him. Either I will be [king] in the Hungarian land or he [prince] in the land of Galich."[19] Vladimirko also sent to Izias-

18. Here, three pages are missing from the extended *Laptev ms.* We use the following short *Obol.* version.

19. *Nik.* is unclear, corrected after *Hyp.*

ly, saying, "Brother! I bow to you and I repent all of my mis- **1152**
deeds because I am in the wrong. But now, my brother, accept me and give me back [what is mine]. And enjoin the king to do likewise so that he accept me, and God will let me be together with you."

Iziaslav did not want to heed all this but he was pressed by the king and his men, so he tried to make peace [with Vladimirko]. The king, however, told Vladimirko, "You must pledge on the cross that those Russian cities now in your possession[20] will be returned by you, and that you will be in agreement with Iziaslav. You should not abandon him, either in good or in bad fortune, and you must always be obedient to him." And Vladimirko accepted this joyfully.

Iziaslav, the king and Iziaslav's brother, Prince Vladimir of Volynia, as well as Iziaslav's son, Mstislav, went to the king's tent and sent their men to Vladimirko in order to obtain his pledge on the cross. He swore on the cross to observe all the conditions, and in this way they confirmed peace.

And so the king returned home; Iziaslav went to Kiev, to his uncle, Viacheslav, with great glory and honor, thanking God and His Most Pure Mother; and they both enjoyed merriment and friendship. Iziaslav then sent also to his brother, Rostislav [of Smolensk] to inform him of his meeting with the king and how they had routed Vladimirko of Galich, and how he had returned home in good health. When Rostislav heard this he praised God and rejoiced.

[HUNGARIAN INTERVENTION AND VASIL'KO'S DEFEAT]
[Second Version][21]

The kings of Bohemia and Poland did not come, however, and so they [Mstislav and the king] entered Vladimirko's dominions and camped. It was the day of the Resurrection of Christ, Sunday, and the king, according to his habit, would not do anything on Sunday. Vladimirko, however, tried not to let the army enter his

20. Again, "Russian" here denotes only the cities of the Kievan region.

21. The short but more complete version of the continuation of the campaign against Vladimirko of Galich is found in *Nik.*, according to *Obol.*, *Akad. XV*, *Arkhival II*, *Stroganov* and in *Troitskii III mss.* It is closer to *Laur.* but even more detailed.

1152 dominions and captured several soldiers in the vanguard of the king's army. On the morrow the king arose, marched to Peremyshl' and moved his regiments to the river San, ranging them for battle; and then he moved with his regiments along the San river: there were 170 detachments of the king. Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich retreated beyond the fortification [of Peremyshl'] and stayed in the fortress, aligning his troops against the king. When the king's Hungarians saw his troops, they attacked them, and Vladimirko's whole army ran away. When Vladimirko saw his army retreating, he, too, fled, and the Hungarians followed them and slaughtered them, taking some captive alive. They came to the river and since they had to cross the river, many of his soldiers were trampled, while others were taken prisoner by the Hungarians.

Grand Prince Vladimirko escaped with difficulty to Peremyshl' with a small number of soldiers and from thence he sent a petition to the king, begging him humbly and tearfully for peace. He tried to do thus in order to obtain a truce [with the king] before Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich marched from Kiev against Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich but did not manage to participate in that battle. Hearing this news from the messengers—that they [Vladimirko and the king] had clashed in battle—he left his heavy troops, hurried with a few light troops and came to the river Sanok. Here he saw [Vladimirko's troops] fleeing, and he chased them, killing many and taking others prisoner. Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich was unaware that Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev had already arrived, and therefore he hurried to the king to ask for peace; but when he realized that Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev had already arrived, he petitioned him also and sent to him, asking tearfully for peace. Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich did not want to grant him peace but he [Vladimirko] sent many gifts with a petition to the king, to his bishop, and to his voevodas begging him [the king], "Do not turn me over to Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, and do not be wroth or remember what I did to you, but remember my service and my friendship with your father: I served him greatly, fighting the Poles. But now I am at my end and am badly wounded, and have lost much blood and am sorely wearied. You should remember the Apostle's words: 'One carries the burdens

for the other.' And there are also the words of the Prophet, **1152**
'Brothers help each other in misfortune; only a sinner, a trespasser of the law, enjoys war and bloodshed; the just enjoy peace and love; love is God. Therefore, remain in love if you remain with God, and then God will be with you [I *John* 4:16]. And if you help me with peace and friendship, then you will be in the right faith with God."

The king heard this and shed tears and began imploring Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev to make peace with Vladimirko; and so with difficulty he arranged peace between him and with Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich; and having confirmed peace, they went home. The king went to Hungary, while Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich went to Kiev.

[THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN IZIASLAV OF KIEV AND IURII DOLGORUKII OF SUZDAL', cont.]

[IX: Dolgorukii's Defeat in the Land of Chernigov]

The same year Iurii Dolgorukii, son of Vladimir Monomakh, Grand Prince of Suzdal', learning that his town of Gorodok had been torn asunder and burnt and all his people resettled, sent to the princes of Riazan' asking them to come to his aid. When Iziaslav Mstislavich heard of this he sent to his brother, Rostislav, saying, "Be careful, brother, because Iurii may campaign in your land, protect it with the levies of Novgorod and Smolensk. In case Iurii should campaign against you, I will come to your aid; but in case he does not attack your land, then you come to help me." Iurii marched with his sons and with the levies of Rostov, Suzdal' and of Riazan'—the latter of Prince Rostislav Iaroslavich with his brother; and he took his regiments with him, and also the Polovetss of Khans Operlai[22] and Toksobich, as well as warriors from the entire Polovetsian land which is between the Volga and the Dnieper; and they all marched into the land of the Viatichs and they occupied it, as well as Mtsensk, Spash and Glukhov; and there they camped.[23]

When Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich learned that Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii of Suzdal' was campaigning against [the Kievan region of] Russia he marched toward Kiev against Grand

22. Thus, in *Hyp.*

23. This last paragraph is also from the *Laptev ms.*

1152 Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev. The latter departed from Kiev to move against him, but Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich did not fight with him and retreated to Galich so as later to join Prince Iurii Dolgorukii, and then, together with him, to march against Kiev. At that time Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii of Suzdal was camped at Glukhov, and a great multitude of Polovetss came thither to him, and Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich; [of Kursk and Severisk Land] and they deliberated how to fight against [the Kievan region of] of Russia. They decided that they would all march to Chernigov; after crossing Kanin they camped near Goriachev not far from the city. It was Sunday and therefore they did not want to attack the city. When Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev learned that there was a massing of many regiments against Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich of Chernigov, he sent his brother, Rostislav Mstislavich of Smolensk, to help him. At that time Rostislav was in Smolensk because he feared [the attack by] Prince Iurii Dolgorukii; but since Prince Iurii Dolgorukii bypassed his dominion, he marched to Chernigov to aid Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich, and entered the city together with Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich and Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich in order to join Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich of Chernigov. They embraced each other and kissed, shedding tears and hanging on each others' necks, and told each other:

"When will we be delivered of vain disturbances and bloodshed and sinful feuds? When will we be able to be free of evil and the intrigues of these people whom devils are pulling into hell, darkening their minds? When will there be an end to our madness and vanity of vanities? And yet we pledge on the holy and saintly crosses, and give most solemn oaths? Verily! 'Every man walketh in a vain show, and is disquieted in vain.' [*Ps.* 39:6, abbr.] 'For what shall a man be profited,' says the Lord, 'if he shall gain the whole world but forfeit his soul?' [*Math.* 16:26. In. Eng. ed., "to forfeit his life."] God is justice and He will avenge those who hate the Lord's peace. It is said [in Scripture] that he who raises his sword will perish."

Then they dispatched scouts to find out about the invaders' troops, and the latter saw an endless army—Christians and Polovetss. Then they commanded all beyond the city walls to move from the city into the fortress. On the morrow Grand Prince

Iurii Dolgorukii, with his children and with Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich[24] of Riazan', and with the great Polovetsian Khan Temir, and with Sviatoslav, and with the Polovetsian Khans, Duleb and Berdash, and all the other Polovetss,[25] and with a great multitude of men-at-arms, advanced like the waves of the ocean, and it was terrifying to see them in their armour, which shone just as water shines in the bright sun. They marched toward the city and camped shortly before the river Semyn'. The Polovetss hurried toward the city, took the outer city walls, burned the suburbs and destroyed everything around the fortress, so that everything resembled a field. Then they surrounded the entire city of Chernigov and shot so many arrows that it was impossible to see the sky. The burghers [of Chernigov], however, fought staunchly against them. The princes of Chernigov fought side by side with the burghers, putting away their fear, and they made sallies to battle the enemy, and they killed many of them. **1152**

Prince Andrei Iurievich Bogoliubskii attacked them bravely but they withstood him and they unhorsed him so that the escaped with difficulty, badly wounded, to his father, Prince Iurii Dolgorukii. The burghers sallied from the city every day, and fought. Then Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii told his father, Prince Iurii Dolgorukii, "Do you see, Father, your troops are not spirited to fight and therefore they do not fight fiercely? And do you see that those who sally from the city against a greater number of our soldiers nonetheless defeat them and put them to shame?" They deliberated together with the princes and, after consideration, said, "It is true. They [our soldiers] do not fight bravely because we do not fight with them." Then Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii said, "Let us each come one day to fight with them at the city, and I will start to fight thus, and this first day is mine." He mounted his horse and advanced against the city; and those from the city made a sortie against him; but he attacked them with his soldiers and with the Polovetss and killed many of them and captured many others, so that those remaining barely escaped back to the fortress. Then the other princes were encouraged by him and

24. This should read "Rostislav Iaroslavich of Murom and Riazan." *Soloviev I.*

25. In *Laur., Hyp.* and *Novg.* these names of the Polovetsian khans are not provided.

1152 began to come to the city to fight, but now the burghers [of Chernigov] did not dare for fear to sally from the city because they had been badly mauled by Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii. And so they besieged the city of Chernigov for twenty two days.

In the meantime the Grand Princes of Kiev—Viacheslav, son of Vladimir Monomakh, and Iziaslav Mstislavich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh—quickly gathered their troops and marched to the aid of Chernigov against the Polovetss, as well as against Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii and against Rostislav Iaroslavich, and against Sviatoslav Ol'govich; and against the Polovetsian khan, Temir; and against all their princes and troops. When Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii heard about this he took fright and so did the Polovetss. The latter became so frightened that they returned to the prairie to the places where they roam. Prince Iurii Dolgorukii with his children and with all his princes and all warriors likewise rapidly retreated from the city of Chernigov and marched toward Novgorod Severskii. Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev came to Chernigov, where they found no [enemy] warriors because they all had fled. After a short stay there, he returned to Kiev.

Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii of Suzdal' left his son, Vasil'ko, in Novgorod Severskii with Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich of Novgord Severskii and he, himself, returned to Suzdal' to his grand principality. The same year, however, Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, marched with his brother, Sviatopolk [of Polotsk], and with his own son, Mstislav, to Novgorod Severskii against Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich of Novgorod Severskii and the young prince, Vasil'ko Iurievich, son of Dolgorukii, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh. He camped at the town of Vsevolozh and from thence dispatched his son, Prince Mstislav, against the Polovetss, giving him command over very strong forces: the Pechenegs of Kanev, the Berendeis, Torks, the troops of the city of Iziaslavl' and the levies from the river Ros', and a great number of his own troops. He, himself, marched toward Novgorod Severskii, expecting to take it with bare hands, and he was very hopeful but did not succeed at all. This was because Novgorod Severskii was strongly fortified and its Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich was invincible. And so Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev became afraid and sent

to Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich asking for peace. Confirming peace with him, he returned to Kiev while Vasil'ko went to Suzdal' to his father, Iurii Dolgorukii. **1152**

The same year Lord God glorified His Own Name and He elevated the Christians because He helped and gave victory to Prince Mstislav, son of Iziaslav, grandson of Mstislav, great-grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, against the Polovetss; and he [Mstislav] killed many Polovetss, took many others captive, and still others he chased afar off, burned their encampments and took large bounty: horses, oxen, camels and sheep. He liberated many captive Christians and returned to his grand principality of Pereiaslavl'. All those captive Christians whom he liberated in great number from the Polovetss he let go, each to his own home; and then he went to Kiev, to his father, Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, and they glorified Lord God for this aid, as well as the Most Pure Theotokos and all saints; and they rejoiced greatly and showed such love and mercifulness toward the afflicted and the sad, the poor and the paupers, as if they were their own brothers.

The same year Grand Prince Vladimirko of Galich passed away.

The same year Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii of Suzdal', after his campaign against Chernigov, returned with his army to Suzdal', to his grand principality; and when he came thither he built many churches: in Nerli, he built a church to the Holy Passion Martyrs, Boris and Gleb; and to honor the saint for whom he was named, he laid the foundation of the city of Iur'ev, which is called Pol'skii; and he built there a stone church to St. George.[26]

In Vladimir he also laid the foundation of the church to St. George. He moved the town of Pereiaslavl'[27] from Kleshchin [to lake Pleshcheevo] and built another, larger than the old one; and he built a stone church of the Holy Savior. And in Suzdal' he built a stone church, also the Holy Savior.

The same year the great chronological cycle, the Indiction, came to an end.

26. Iur'ev Pol'skii—"Iur'ev among the fields." It was the agricultural region of Suzdalia.

27. Later called Pereiaslavl' "Zalesskii"—"Beyond the Forest."

1153 [THE LAST YEARS OF IZIASLAV]

In the year 6661 [1153]. Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev sent his son, Prince Mstislav, against the Polovetss, who camped along the river Psel, because they had done much evil; but he did not go as far [as their encampments] and returned.

The same year his father sent him to meet his future wife, Mstislav's stepmother; and he went thither with Prince Vladimir Andreevich, grandson of Monomakh, and with the Berendeis. They went as far as Alieshia but did not find her and turned back.[28]

The same year Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, grandson of Monomakh, with his brothers, Prince Sviatopolk Mstislavich and Prince Vladimir Andreevich, and with Prince Mstislav marched against Iaroslav Volodimirkovich,[29] Grand Prince of Galich; arriving there, they camped at Terebovl'. Prince Iaroslav Volodimirkovich of Galich wanted to march against him but the boiars told him, "Our beloved lord, Prince! You are only one prince among us and in case something should happen to you, what would we do, we, your children? In such a case it would be better for us not to have been born. Or, being born, to be buried in the ground at once, than to get into such trouble and see such misfortune. Stay here, our prince, in the city, and we will go by ourselves to fight Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev and his brother, Sviatopolk Mstislavich, and Vladimir Andreevich and his son, Mstislav. In the case some of us should remain alive, then we will hurry back to you to the city and will prepare the city for siege and will fight with you against them."[30] Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev crossed the river Seret toward them and both armies clashed and fought fiercely; and many fell dead on both sides, and there was great confusion among them, and they did not know who was who, nor did they know who had defeated whom. On all sides lay the dead and on all sides flowed blood. Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, however, pursued the levies of Galich, although his brother and his son had fled. Grand

28. His bride was coming from the Caucasus.

29. Vladimirko died in 1152; his son, Iaroslav is usually known as Iaroslav Osmomysl'—"Iaroslav of Eight Wits."

30. The text of the boiars' speech is very close to the text both of *Laur.* and of *Hyp.*

Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev captured many leading men of Galich and took them with him; the men-at-arms of Galich also captured many leading Kievan men—Iziaslav's boiars and voevodas, and took them with them. Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev remained with a small troop on the battlefield and [in order to deceive the enemy] he raised the banners of Galich; therefore the warriors of Galich went to their banners, and a great multitude of them were taken captive. But the same night Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich took fright because he remained with only a small troop to continue the campaign, and he said, "Let us depart for home quickly before the people of Galich rally their troops and come against us from the city." And he ordered that the common people be massacred while the voevodas, boiars and leading citizens be taken to Kiev. In the meantime, the people of Galich took Iziaslav's boiars, voevodas and leading people to Galich; but some were taken to Peremyshl, and others to Terebovl'. **1154**

The same year Prince Rostislav Iaroslavich of the Riazan' land [Prince of Murom] built a city on the river Oka, naming it after himself, Rostislavl'.

The same year Bishop Nifont of Novgorod laid the foundation of the church of St. Clement in the city of Ladoga.

The same year Abbot Arcadius built a monastery for himself, and within it he built a church of the Assumption of the Holy Theotokos.

In the year 6662 [*1154*]. Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, grandson of Monomakh, sent for his son, Mstislav, the second time, to meet his new wife, Mstislav's stepmother; and he went toward the cataracts [of the river Dnieper] to meet her; and he met her and brought her to Kiev to his father, Iziaslav Mstislavich. This wife came from Abkhaziia.[31] And Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich celebrated the wedding and took this Abkhazian woman to wife.[32]

The same year Prince Mstislav, son of Iziaslav, grandson of Mstislav, great-grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, went to his grand principality in Pereiaslavl'.

31. Abkhaziia is the land on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, in the northwestern part of present Georgia. At that time Abkhazians were Orthodox and maintained constant contact with Kiev.

32. As in *Laur.*

1155 The same year the Novgorodians chased Prince Iaroslav Iziaslavich from Novgorod, and took as prince Roman Rostislavich [son of the prince of Smolensk], grandson of Mstislav, great-grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, and established him as their prince.[33]

The same year Prince Iurii Dolgorukii of Suzdal', son of Monomakh, marched against Russia, with his children and with all the levies of Rostov and Suzdal'.[34] But on their march an epidemic arose not only among the horses but also among the warriors, and it was such a plague as never before. When he came to the land of the Viatichs and camped shortly before arriving at Kozel'sk, the Polovetss came to his aid from the prairie. He deliberated with his children and his boiars and became frightened at the wrath of God which became manifest at that time [the plague], and the Polovetss returned into their prairie while he turned back to Suzdal' with great grief and humility.[35]

The same year Prince Sviatopolk Mstislavich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, brother of the Kievan Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, passed away in Vladimir [in Volynia]. And Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev appointed his own son, Iaroslav, in place of his late brother, to the principal city of Vladimir.[36]

The same year the wife of Prince Gleb Iur'evich died in Suzdal'.

In the year 6663 [1155]. A son, Dmitrii, was born to Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich Dolgorukii, son of Monomakh, and the father called him "Vsevolod."[37] And his father, Prince Iurii Dolgorukii, laid the foundation of a city on the river Iakhroma and gave it the name, "Dmitrov," in honor of his son, Dmitrii, who is also called "Vsevolod," because he was born there.[38]

DEATH OF GRAND PRINCE IZIASLAV MSTISLAVICH OF KIEV

The same year the Grand Prince of Kiev, Iziaslav Mstislavich,

33. Text close to *Laur.*

34. Again, "Russia" or "Rus' " designates only the region around Kiev.

35. As in *Laur.*

36. As in *Laur.*

37. "Dmitrii" was his Christian name, "Vsevolod," his clan name.

38. Neither in *Laur.* nor in *Hyp.*

grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, great-grandson of Vsevolod, **1155**
gr.-great-grandson of Iaroslav, gr.-great-gr.-grandson of Great Vladimir, passed away on the thirteenth day of the month of November. On that day our holy father, John is remembered—Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople, who is called *"Zlatoust Konstantinograda."*[39] The next day when the Holy Apostle Philip is remembered, his body was buried according to the words of the Lord: "One comes from the earth and returns to the earth." He was buried in the church of St. Theodore in the monastery founded by his father, after having been prince of Kiev for ten years; and he left sons—Mstislav and Iaroslav. [His brother and co-ruler of] Kiev, Grand Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich, son of Monomakh, sent to Smolensk for his [Iziaslav's] brother, Rostislav Mstislavich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, [to be prince with him in Kiev]. But before he arrived, Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich of Chernigov, grandson of Sviatoslav, great-grandson of Iaroslav, gr.-gr.-grandson of Great Vladimir, learning of Iziaslav's death, marched and camped at the Dnieper near Kiev. From thence he sent the following message to Kiev, to Grand Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich Monomashich and to Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich, grandson of Mstislav, great-grandson of Vladimir Monomakh:

"I did not attend the burial of our relative, Grand Prince of Kiev Iziaslav Mstislavich; let me come to Kiev so that I may lament him at his grave. And I would quench with tears my unassuageable grief because all of us are supposed to travel along this path [in life]. The path [of life] is short and all our life is of no avail, we may not come to life but, if we come, then we all must enter into nonentity."[40]

Grand Prince Viacheslav and Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich, grandson of Mstislav, great-grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, did not let him into Kiev because Prince Rostislav Mstislavich, grandson of Monomakh, had not yet arrived in Kiev; and so he [Iziaslav Davydovich] returned to Chernigov. Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich [of Smolensk] went from Smolensk to Novgorod and, after having dwelt there for a short time, he left for Kiev, leaving in Novgorod his son, Mstislav, as Prince. The Novgorodians, however, were dissatisfied with Prince Rostislav Mstislavich and did

39. Golden Mouth or "Chrysostom of Constantinople."

40. The text of Iziaslav's death only partially follows *Laur.*

1155 not want to accept his son, Mstislav, as Prince of Novgorod. They drove him out of Novgorod, showing him how to follow the route of his father, Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich. The Novgorodians, however, assembled and began to contemplate, saying, "We offended Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Smolensk; but now he will become grand prince of Kiev [and thus, our sovereign], and, as such, he can cause us much evil and revenge our having driven out his son, Mstislav."[41]

And then they asked their Bishop Nifont to go with the leading burghers to Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii of Suzdal' to beg him to give his son, Prince Mstislav, to be Prince of Novgorod. At that time Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii was journeying about [his dominion] with his grand princess, and whilst they were encamped at the river Iakhroma his wife gave birth to their son, who was christened Dmitrii; and his father named him [with the Slavic clan name] Vsevolod. And in this place his father laid the foundation of a city, calling it "Dmitrov" in honor of his son's saint.[42]

THE REIGN IN KIEV OF GRAND PRINCES VIACHESLAV VLADIMIROVICH, SON OF MONOMAKH, AND OF HIS NEPHEW, ROSTISLAV MSTISLAVICH, GRANDSON OF MONOMAKH

[1155] Then Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Smolensk, grandson of Monomakh, came to Kiev and the burghers of Kiev convened with Grand Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich Monomashich, and enthroned him [Rostislav] as Grand Prince of Kiev. So there were now once more two grand princes of Kiev; and the princes, boiars and all burghers addressed Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich; "Respect your uncle, Grand Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich, just as your late brother did, Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, and then the city of Kiev will be yours all your life."[43] He [Rostislav] wept lengthily and shed many tears because

41. Little similarity with the texts of *Laur.* and *Novg. Syn.*

42. This last sentence is almost an exact repetition of the first sentence of this annual entry, both of which deal with the foundation of the city of Dmitrov. This event is not mentioned in *Laur.*, *Hyp.* or *Novg.*, but it is found in *Musc. Late XV*. According to *Laur.*, *Hyp.* and *Novg.*, the death of Iziaslav Mstislavich occurred in 6662, not 6663, as in *Nik.*

43. The text of this speech is the same in *Laur.* and *Hyp.* under 6662/1154.

of amity, unanimity and concord, and promised solemnly to re- **1155**
spect Grand Prince Viacheslav just as had his brother, Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich.

The same summer Prince Gleb Iurevich [son of Dolgorukii], grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, came with a multitude of Polovetss to Pereiaslavl' in order to fight Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich, grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir. The people of Pereiaslavl' fought fiercely against him, and Prince Gleb and his Polovetss did not succeed at all and retreated in shame. Then, marching with the Polovetss, he captured the city of Piriatin, killing many and abducting others into captivity.[44]

[DEATH OF GRAND PRINCE VIACHESLAV]

The same year Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Kiev, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, together with his nephew, Mstislav Iziaslavich and Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, grandson of Oleg, and with the levies of Kiev and a small force of Torks, marched to Chernigov to do battle with Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich of Chernigov. And they said, one to another, "Let us make haste to march against him before Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii of Suzdal' comes to his aid. And let us either drive him out [of Chernigov] or make peace with him." They crossed the river Dnieper and camped at Vyshegrad, whither came a messenger to them from Kiev with the following:

"Yesterday your uncle, Grand Prince of Kiev Viacheslav Vladimirich Monomashich made merry, ate and drank with the boiars; and he went to sleep, and in his sleep he passed away and did not arise. Now he is lying dead. What do you command regarding him?"[45] Hearing this, Grand Prince of Kiev Rostislav Mstislavich, grandson of Monomakh, bowed to the ground, beat his head upon the earth, wept lengthily, summoned his kin and boiars and told Prince Sviatoslav and Prince Mstislav, "Stay here with this army while I go to Kiev and bury my uncle, Grand Prince Viacheslav."

44. As in *Laur.*

45. This speech is the same as in *Hyp.*, but not in *Laur.*

1155 He came to Kiev and reverently prepared his body and buried him with great honor in the church of Holy Sophia; then he went to his [Viacheslav's] treasury and checked all his properties, distributing it all to the monasteries, to the churches, to the poor, to paupers, to widows and to pilgrims. When he had arranged all this he returned to his army, taking with him the troops of Viacheslav. And he came to Chernigov and camped at Boloves.[46]

Then Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich of Chernigov sent for Prince Gleb Iur'evich Monomashich, asking him to come in all haste with the Polovetss. At that time Prince Gleb was quartered on the river Sula, and forthwith he marched with the Polovetss against Rostislav. Rostislav Mstislavich, Grand Prince of Kiev, with Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich and Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich, was encamped at Boloves when Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich, together with Prince Gleb Iur'evich Monomashich and the Polovetsian Khans Chemgura, Berdebek and Temir, and other Polovetsian Khans and Polovetss, posthaste marched against them. They started shooting arrows across the river, and these arrows were like a heavy rain, so that the skies could not be seen beyond these arrows, and in this manner they killed many horses and many people with arrows. Then the Polovetss, like devils, started to cross the river—some here and some there—swimming across it. Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Kiev took fright and began suing for peace. He gave himself up, and Kiev, and—without consulting Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich—he relinquished the latter's Pereiaslavl'.

His nephew, Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich, hearing that he [Rostislav] had given up the city of Pereiaslavl' for him, became greatly offended and said, "You won't have Kiev and I won't have Pereiaslavl'." He turned his horse about and, together with his troops, departed from his uncle, Grand Prince of Kiev Rostislav Mstislavich, grandson of Monomakh. Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich and Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich became seized by fear, trembled greatly and fled with all their men. The Polovetss pursued them and put them to the sword, thus killing many, and took many others captive. So Grand Prince of Kiev Rostislav Mstislavich fled to Lubchesk and from thence to [his old domain of]

46. Close to Laur.

Smolensk. His son, Prince Sviatoslav, and Prince Mstislav Izias- **1155**
lavich fled to Kiev, from thence to Pereiaslavl', then, taking his wife, Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich escaped to Lutsk.

The accursed Polovetss captured Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, grandson of Oleg, gr. grandson of Sviatoslav, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir; and with him they captured his boiars, Roman Sudislavich and Dobrynia Fedorovich, and other boiars. And when the Polovetss captured him they killed many other men, and everywhere thereabout men lay dead and blood flowed so that it was horrifying and terrible to see.

Then a hard time came for Christians. There was great lamenting in Kiev, in Pereiaslavl' and in other of their cities; no prince remained in Kiev, and there was great discord among them. [The people of Kiev] began praying Damian, Bishop of Kanev[47] to go to Chernigov, to Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich of Chernigov, to ask him to come, saying the following:

"You are of the same kin [as the previous grand princes of Kiev] and now the great and glorious principality of Kiev is without a prince; and among us who remain there is great discord. Seeing this, the Polovetss will come and take us over, and in such a way the Polovetss will be able to assume the glory and honor of all the Russian land, and its head, the city of Kiev; and how will anyone be able to live with them? Please come to assume the grand principality of Kiev."[48]

[IZIASLAV DAVYDOVICH, GRAND PRINCE OF KIEV]

He came and ascended to the throne of the grand principality of Kiev and he sent Grand Prince Gleb Iur'evich to the grand principality of Pereiaslavl'. The same year the Polovetss came and caused much evil near Pereiaslavl', burning towns and villages as well as the Monastery of the Nativity of the Most Pure Theotokos, the Monastery of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb, the Monastery of St. Sabba and the church of [Alta].[49] Where

47. Unclear. "Kanev" in *Nik.*, *Laur.*, and *Hyp.*; "Kiev" in *Radz.*; but Damian was never bishop of Kiev and there was no episcopal see in Kanev. Probably, he was an abbot.

48. Shorter version in *Hyp.* and, especially, in *Laur.*, 6662/1154.

49. In *Nik.* and *Laur.*, the adjective, "*Letskaia*," is used, a derivative from "Alta," the river near which Prince Boris was killed.

1155 there had been great wealth, all was plundered and burned, and the people were led into captivity.

When Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii of Suzdal' learned that his nephew, Grand Prince of Kiev Iziaslav Mstislavich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, had passed away, he began to consider campaigning in [the Kievan part of] Russia; and, preparing his army, he marched into Russia.[50] At that time he was marching against Smolensk, and a messenger approached him, saying,

"Your nephew, Grand Prince of Kiev, Iziaslav Mstislavich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, has passed away forever and has received eternal peace instead of this vain and tempting life. He has been buried in the Church of St. Theodore in his father's monastery. After him, his brother and your nephew, Rostislav Mstislavich, son of Vladimir Monomakh, has become Grand Prince of Kiev together with your brother, Grand Prince Viacheslav Vladimirich, son of Monomakh; and they are reigning in unanimity in the grand principality of Kiev, while in the grand principality of Pereiaslavl' Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich has been prince. Then your son, Prince Gleb, marched against the latter, toward Pereiaslavl', with the troops of Chernigov and with Polovetss, and they fought long there but in nowise succeeded and marched away, making his quarters on the river Sula. In the meantime the Grand Prince of Kiev, Rostislav Mstislavich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, together with his son, Sviatoslav, and with Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich and Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich, marched against Chernigov, against Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich of Chernigov, and your son, Prince Gleb. Whilst they were advancing a messenger came to them with tidings that Grand Prince Viacheslav of Kiev had departed this vain and tempting life and passed to the other life. Thereupon Grand Prince Rostislav returned to Kiev, buried his uncle and your brother, Grand Prince of Kiev Viacheslav Vladimirich Monomashich. He buried him in the Church of Holy Sophia and then he marched against Chernigov, against Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich and against your son, Prince Gleb. While he was encamped at Boloves he engaged in battle against Prince Iziaslav of Chernigov and your son, Prince Gleb and the Polovetss. And the

50. As previously, "Russia" or "Rus' " meant only the region around Kiev.

grand prince of Kiev, together with his son and his kin, were defeated and there was no prince in Kiev. Therefore Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich came to become grand prince of Kiev and now he is on the throne of the grand principality of Kiev, while your son, Gleb, is ruling in the grand principality of Pereiaslavl'."[51] 1155

When Grand Prince of Kiev, Rostislav Mstislavich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, fled from that battle to Smolensk and heard that in the vicinity of Smolensk Grand Prince of Suzdal', Iurii Vladimirich Monomashich Dolgorukii, was quartered, he became frightened and greatly discomfited, thinking that Prince Iurii Dolgorukii would do battle against him. The latter, however, made peace with him and marched to Russia, to Kiev. Coming thither, he camped at Starodub, whither Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich came to him, embraced him and held the customary council with him, asking him to accept the friendship and peace of his nephew, Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich. He [Dolgorukii] agreed on peace and concord with him and commanded him to march with him to Kiev. Arriving there, he camped in the vicinity of Kiev, whither he sent to Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich, asking him to leave Kiev: "Your grand principality is Chernigov, while I should be in the grand principality of Kiev." Iziaslav Davydovich did not want to depart from Kiev and the grand principality because he had become very fond of the grand principality of Kiev—and who would not be fond of the grand principality of Kiev? Because all honor and glory and majesty are there, and Kiev is the head of all the Russian lands and people, and merchants from many foreign countries converge there, and all manner of valuable goods arrive there from all lands! So Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii of Suzdal' marched, and halted at Moravsk, while Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich also marched and halted near Chernigov.

And then Prince Iurii Dolgorukii sent his envoy to Kiev, to Iziaslav, saying, "If you do not leave Kiev there will be a great battle, and much blood will be shed." The latter sent him the following answer:

"There is neither glory nor honor nor praise in feuding and shedding blood over this quickly passing and seductive life. If you

51. An extensive version of the text in *Hyp.* and, especially, in *Laur.*

1155 have such ambitions in mind, then come to Kiev and ascend to the grand principality. I did not struggle for Kiev, but the people of Kiev sent me a petition with Bishop Damian of Kanev[52] inviting me to ascend to the grand principality of Kiev; but if you want it, go to Kiev and ascend to the grand principality, while I return to my grand principality of Chernigov, in which I used to be before." Saying this, he left Kiev and went to Chernigov and assumed the grand principality of Chernigov.[53]

GRAND PRINCE IURII DOLGORUKII OF KIEV [1155]

Then Prince Iurii Dolgorukii marched into Kiev with joy and merriment and there ascended to the throne of the grand principality, gratefully praising God. He assigned his senior son, Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii, to the grand principality of Vyshgorod; and he assigned his son, Prince Boris, to the grand principality of Turov; and he assigned his son, Prince Gleb, to the grand principality of Pereiaslavl'; and he assigned his son, Prince Vasil'ko, to the grand principality of Poros'e.[54]

The same year the Polovetss raided [Russia] and, having captured many, returned to their encampment. When they returned thither, to the prairie, they were caught by Berendeis, who appeared at early dawn while the others were asleep and attacked those sleeping, killing many and taking others captive.

The same year Grand Prince of Kiev Iurii Vladimirich Monomashich Dolgorukii went toward Kanev to meet [with other princes] and to fight the Polovetss. They held counsel at Kanev and then the Polovetss asked them to give them back their kin and the other Polovetsian khans who had been captured by the Berendeis. And Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii of Kiev sent to the Berendeis asking them to give back to the Polovetss all the Polovetsian khans who were in their captivity. The Berendeis became wrathful and said, "We have shed our blood for the Russian land, fighting against the Polovetss, and we would be happy to defeat them all. How can you have the idea of returning them to their kin?" When the Polovetss learned about this they became

52. See the previous footnote.

53. In neither *Laur.* nor *Hyp.* are there such extensive speeches.

54. *Poros'e*: the region of the river, Ros'. In *Laur.* and in *Hyp.*, 6662 (1154).

greatly offended because although they received many gifts from **1155**
Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii, they did not conclude peace and went to their own encampment.[55]

The same year the Polovetss raided and campaigned around Dominesk.[56] Coming to Pereislavl', they caused much evil, killed many and captured many others, and returned to their encampments.

The same year Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii sent Prince Iurii Iaroslavich, together with [voevoda] Zhiroslav and with the grandsons of Viacheslav[57] against Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich, who was in the city of Peresopnitsa [in Volynia]. They marched thither and chased him away from Peresopnitsa to Lutsk. Then Prince Iurii [Dolgorukii] ordered his son-in-law, Grand Prince Iaroslav Vladimirkovich [Osmomysl] of Galich, to march to Lutsk; but Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich left his brother, Iaroslav Iziaslavich, in Lutsk and, himself, escaped to the Poles; thus Prince Iaroslav Vladimirkovich and Prince Vladimir did not achieve anything against him and returned home.[58]

The same year the princess, wife of Prince Iurii Dolgorukii, came from Novosil' to Kiev.[59]

The same year Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, came to his uncle in Kiev, Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii, and he was received by the latter with honor. He interceded on behalf of his nephews and Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii of Kiev listened to him and at once ordered that they be summoned. So Prince Vladimir Iziaslavich and Prince Iaroslav Iziaslavich came to Kiev but their brother, Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich did not dare to go with them to Kiev, saying, "Prince Iurii Vladimirich Monomashich Dolgorukii wants to seize me. Why should I surrender voluntarily into his hands and be my own murderer?" Thus Grand Prince of Kiev Iurii Vladimirich Monomashich Dolgorukii in friendship received his kin, Prince Vladimir Iziaslavich and Prince Iaroslav Iziaslavich, and sent a

55. 6663/1155 in *Laur.* and *Hyp.*

56. Location unclear.

57. Here are meant the descendants of Prince Viacheslav "the Magician" of Polotsk.

58. As in *Laur.*, 6663/1155.

59. As in *Laur.*

1155 message to him [to Mstislav] concerning his pledge on the cross and agreement, as well as desire to be united in amity and peace.[60]

The same year the army of Galich came to Grand Prince of Kiev Iurii Dolgorukii to help him because Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich of Chernigov was planning a campaign against [Kiev].

The same year the Polovetss came to make peace and camped along the Dubinets[61] and even as far as the river Suboi. Then Prince Iurii Dolgorukii, together with Prince Rostislav Mstislavich, Prince Vladimir Iziaslavich, Prince Iaroslav Iziaslavich and the armies of Galich, marched to Kanev to meet these accursed Polovetss; from thence he sent to the Polovetss the following message: "Now I have come and am camped at Kanev. Come to me to make peace." The Polovetss came in small numbers and feigned that they had come for the cause of peace, but actually they did not care for peace but only wanted to see how many troops were with him. Coming thither and learning that there were many of them, they said, "We will return to our people and tomorrow we will all come back to you to make peace." Rejoining their people, they told them that there were great forces [allied] with the Grand Prince of Kiev, Iurii Vladimir Monomashich Dolgorukii, and the same night the Polovetss fled into the prairie while Prince Iurii Dolgorukii returned to Kiev.[62]

The same year Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii of Kiev, with his nephews, sent to Chernigov to Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich of Chernigov with the following message: "Either we campaign against you or you come to us about peace." The latter, seeing that Dolgorukii was united and of the same mind with his nephews, pledged to them on the cross [to accept peace] and then Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii let his nephews return home and, as well, let the allied army of Galich go back.[63]

The same year Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii, son of Iurii Dolgorukii, journeyed from his grand principality of Vyshgorod to his father, Iurii Dolgorukii of Kiev. Arriving in Kiev, he was joy-

60. Close to *Laur.*

61. Dubinets: In *Nik.*, "Lubinets"; here corrected after *Laur.* and *Hyp.*

62. Close to *Laur.*

63. As in *Laur.*

fully received by his father and remained with him in Kiev for a certain time. **1155**

He was grieved over the discord among his brothers, nephews, relatives and all his kin because there were always enmity, feuds and much bloodshed since everyone wanted to possess the grand principaliaty of Kiev, and there was no peace among them. Therefore all [southern] principalities became devastated and the region around the Danube, Meta and Astra were in the hands of the foreigners who settled there. The principalities were depopulated because the Polovetss took many captives during their raids. He grieved greatly about this and was afflicted in heart and soul. But he pondered this secretly in the depths of his heart, not saying anything to his father, Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii. He wanted to return to the grand principality of Suzdal' and Rostov because, as he said, it was much quieter there.

Once he had heard about the miracles of the icon of the Most Pure Theotokos which, as it was told, had been painted by Luke, the Evangelist, and which had been brought to his father in Kiev by boat together with the Pyrogoshchaia Icon from Constantinople.[64] He also had heard about it that it would move out from its frame and stay in the air, and that this had happened on many occasions. Therefore he wanted secretly to take this icon from his father when he went to the grand principalities of Suzdal' and Rostov. And so, not informing his father, he secretly left Kiev and took this icon of the Most Pure Theotokos with him, and made a frame for it in which there were more than thirty grivna of gold, besides silver, and many precious gems and pearls. Having thus adorned it, he placed it in his church in Vladimir.[65]

The same year Grand Prince of Kiev Iurii Dolgorukii married in Russia his son, Prince Gleb, who took to wife the daughter of Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich of Chernigov, grandson of Sviatoslav, great grandson of Iaroslav, [the Wise] gr. gr. grandson

64. These contemplations of Andrei Bogoliubskii with the extended story of the icons are close to the text in *Hyp.* or *Laur.* The miraculous icon is now known under the name "Vladimir Icon of the Mother of God." The Pyrogoshchaia icon was brought from the Blachernae Monastery [in Constantinople], which had been built like a castle with seven towers: hence, "*Pyrgotissa*," Greek, "of the tower."

65. Close to *Laur.* and *Hyp.*

1156 of Great Vladimir.[66]

The same year Prince Mstislav Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, married the daughter of Peter Mikhalkovich, in Novgorod.

The same year in Belgorod Riazan'skii in the principality of Riazan', tysiatskii Andrei Glebov was killed by his relatives at night.

The same year there were great rains.

The same year the Tatars[67] came to Riazan' to the river Khaport'. They did much evil and killed many people and abducted others into captivity.

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE.

After Manuel his son, Alexis Porphyrogenitus, reigned six months.[68] He was Orthodox. After him Andronik Comnenus reigned two years and six months [1182-1183 & 1183-1185]. He was Orthodox. After him Isaak, called "Angel," reigned eight years and six months, and he was Orthodox [1185-1195]. After him reigned Alexis the *Skhimnik*,[69] brother of Isaak Angel, and he reigned for nine years and six months and was Orthodox [1195-1203]. After Alexis *Skhimnik* reigned Alexis Duka Murzuphlis; he reigned two months and ten days and was Orthodox [1204]. After him Alexis Angel, son of Isaac, reigned for seven months and twenty days, and he was Orthodox [1204].[70]

In the year 6664 [1156]. Theodosius, abbot of the Monastery of the Caves, passed away.[71]

CONSECRATION OF CONSTANTINE, METROPOLITAN OF THE GREAT CITY OF KIEV AND ALL RUSSIA[72]

66. As in *Laur.*

67. "Tatar" here probably means "Polovetss," and not "Tatars," who became known to the Russians only in the thirteenth century.

68. Actually, Alexis Porphyrogenitus reigned 1180-1183.

69. "*Skhimnik*": a monk who received the second monastic orders of the Schema.

70. From the *Chronograph.*

71. *Laur.* 6664 (1156).

72. This item about Metropolitans Constantine and Clement, and Bishop Nifont follows *Hyp.*; in *Nik.*, the text is more elaborated. Some data about Nifont are in *Novg. Syn.*

1156 The same year in Constantinople the Patriarch appointed Constantine to the metropolia of Kiev and all Russia and sent him from Constantinople to Kiev. When Nifont, Bishop of Novgorod, heard from the merchants who came to Novgorod that the Patriarch of Constantinople had consecrated Constantine in the cathedral Church of Holy Sophia to the metropolia of the great city of Kiev and all Russia, he rejoiced so greatly that he felt himself to be not on the earth but flying on wings in the air. Then in spiritual joy he travelled rapidly to the great and glorious city of Kiev, the mother and head of all Russian cities, in order to see, to bow down before and to receive the blessing from His Holiness, Most Sacred Constantine, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, who had been appointed in Constantinople by the Patriarch of Constantinople. This Bishop Nifont was a defender and zealot of sacred and divine trust and was in agreement with His Holiness, the Patriarch of Constantinople. At that time there was great discord among the grand princes of Kiev, and there was much fighting, murder and bloodshed because they all wanted to gain the grand principality in Kiev. This city of Kiev was the glory and honor and mother and head of the entire Russian land, and therefore everyone endeavored to win it because all these princes were of one kin and they all belonged to the same dynasty. Because of these feuds there were many difficulties before their holinesses, the metropolitans of Kiev and all Russia. When His Holiness, Metropolitan Michael of Kiev and all Russia, went to the Patriarch of Constantinople because of some disagreement and was there, he heard of the great troubles and feuds in Kiev and all Russia and therefore he preferred not to return to his throne of Kiev. At that time, after many conflicts Iziaslav Mstislavich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, ascended to the grand principality of Kiev, and although time was passing, there was no metropolitan in all Russia. Therefore there was great sadness and grief among all that there was no unity among the Russian princes, but only discord and enmity. Because of these numerous feuds, Grand Prince of Kiev, Iziaslav Mstislavich did not want to send [for the metropolitan] to Constantinople, but after conferring with six bishops they elected to the metropolia of Kiev and all Russia a monk from Smolensk, a certain Clement, who was a philosopher and a man of

1156 quietude.[73] This election displeased many of the clergy and monks, as well as members of the laity and the princes, who became disconcerted with Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich.

BISHOP NIFONT OF NOVGOROD.

Nifont, the Bishop of Novgorod, also belonged to those [who were against Clement] but Metropolitan Clement forced him to celebrate conjointly with him. But he [Nifont] said, "You were not elected and appointed by His Holiness, the Patriarch of Constantinople, as it was from the beginning, according to our laws."

Those among the princes who were inimical toward Iziaslav helped this Bishop Nifont, and he received oft numerous epistles from the Patriach of Constantinople, who honored him for his attitude [and loyalty to Constantinople], which only strengthened him. Metropolitan Clement threatened him and forbade him to do thus and forced him to celebrate along with him; but he did not so wish: "I don't dare," he would say, "because you are not appointed by the Patriarch." Thereafter there was great enmity between them. Therefore, as soon as Constantine the Greek was appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople to be metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia—and he did not even come to Russia to ascend to his throne in Kiev—Nifont, Bishop of Novgorod, went from Novgorod to greet him and to receive a blessing from him. And so he came to Kiev to wait for him; and the news arrived that Metropolitan Constantine was coming, and he waited for him with great joy. But then he became afflicted by disease and three days before his death he saw his own demise in a dream. He dreamed that he was in the Monastery of the Caves in the church near the grave of the blessed Prince Nikola Sviatosha, and that he was praying to the Most Pure Theotokos, desiring to see the venerable Abbot Theodosius. He had a vision of many brethren in the church, and one of them came to him and told him, "If you want to see Theodosius, go to the altar;" and he led him to the altar and showed him the venerable Abbot Theodosius, and he bowed to him and Theodosius put his arms around him, kissed him and

73. Clement, in Russian Klim Smoliatich, was consecrated on July 27, 1147. He escaped from Kiev with Iziaslav, returned with him probably, and in 1155 was driven out of the see by Iurii Dolgorukii. Constantine was his successor.

said, "It is good that you have come hither Bishop Nifont. From now on you will never be separated from us." Thereafter he lived for three days and passed into the eternal sleep on the fifteenth of the month of April, Holy Saturday, and he was buried in the Cave Monastery of St. Theodosius, whom he greatly venerated. This Nifont was in concord and amity with Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii and with Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich of Chernigov, and he was also in agreement and friendship with many other princes who, like this Nifont, Bishop of Novgorod, were not on good terms with Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev [and opposed Clement's appointment]. Speaking of this Bishop Nifont, some Novgorodians claimed that Bishop Nifont wasted the treasury of the Church of Holy Sophia [in Novgorod] and contributed part of it to the Patriarch of Constantinople, as well as to some others, among whom was the Metropolitan of Kiev and several other persons; but all this was told to harm him, and such speeches only contributed to his salvation and were the sin of those who spoke them. It is known that he adorned the Church of Holy Sophia, covered it with a lead roof; that he built in Pskov the stone church of the Savior Pantocrat; and that he also built a church to St. Clement in Ladoga; and that he fed the paupers and the poor. **1156**

The same year Metropolitan Constantine came from Constantinople and ascened to the Metropolitan See of Kiev and all Russia. Grand Prince of Kiev Iurii Dolgorukii met him personally, with his children and his honorable boiars, and on that day there was a fair banquet and great honor was shown to His Holiness, and everyone participated in it with joy.

MSTISLAV IZIASLAVICH DRIVES OUT VLADIMIR ANDREEVICH FROM VLADIMIR IN VOLYNIA

The same year Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich campaigned against his uncle, Prince Vladimir Andreevich. He drove him out of the principality of Vladimir [in Volynia], captured his mother and wife, and ordered that his boiars and voevodas be put in irons and that they be jailed in dungeons. His uncle, Prince Vladimir Andreevich, escaped, however, to Peremyshl, from whence he fled to Hungary, to the king, because his sister was wed to the Hungarian king.[74]

74. Vladimir Andreevich, the son of Vladimir Monomakh's junior son, was originally prince of Dorogobuzh; he was shortly Grand Prince of Vladimir both in Volynia.

1156 The same year the Polovetss campaigned at Bystrye Sosny [Fast Pines] in the region of Riazan' and captured many people and departed to their camps. Before they arrived there, however, the [Russian pursuit] caught them while they were sleeping and took the captives back and killed many of them [of the Polovetss].

The same year Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich Monomashich Dolgorukii of Kiev marched against Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich of Vladimir [in Volynia]. He campaigned with his children and took his son-in-law, Prince Iaroslav Vladimirkovich of Galich to help him. They campaigned on behalf of Prince Vladimir Andreevich, grandson of Monomakh, former prince of Vladimir, his nephew. When Prince Mstislav Iziaslavovich saw the multitude of their hosts and realized that he could not withstand them [on the battlefield], he prepared the city for siege. Those who arrived [with Dolgorukii] besieged the city, but he fought them from the city and many fell on both sides.

Then Prince Iurii Dolgorukii told his children and his son-in-law, Prince Iaroslav Vladimirkovich of Galich, "I am an old man and this one is young; but he is obsessed with many passions of the earthly life, whereas I am in great awe of the final life and of the Last Judgment. Therefore, being in grief over the vain problems of this passing and tempting life, I would like to make peace with him and strengthen it with the faith and truth of the pledge on the cross. He is still preoccupied with the passions of the present life and I think that I was not always aware of the promise of the future. I am, though, at the end of my life and I do not want bloodshed and quarreling, but want to acquiesce with long-suffering patience and meekness." Having said this, he returned home with his children and his son-in-law, Grand Prince Iaroslav Vladimirkovich, returned to his grand principality of Galich; and Prince Vladimir Andreevich, grandson of Monomakh, went to be the prince in Peresopnitsa and Chealnitsa, and to the Pogorinskie towns[75], and to Dorogobuzh.[76]

The same year the Bishop of Rostov, Nestor, went from Rostov to Kiev to Metropolitan Constantine of Kiev and all Russia in

75. "*Pogorinskie*" means "piedmont," in this case the piedmont of the Carpathian mountains.

76. An expanded version of the *Laur.* and *Hyp.* texts.

order to greet him and to receive his blessing because he had been calumniated by his people to Metropolitan Constantine and was under interdiction. **1157**

In the year 6665/1157. Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich of Chernigov began mustering an army to fight the Grand Prince of Kiev, Iurii Vladimirich Monomashich Dolgorukii, and allied with him was the Grand Prince of Smolensk, Rostislav Mstislavich. When Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii learned of this he dispatched messengers to all ends of his grand principality in order to rally a host, but shortly thereafter he fell ill. On May tenth Iurii was drinking at *osmenik* Petrilo's[77] and the same night he became ill, and he remained ill for five days. Because of this illness he passed away on the fifteenth day of the month of March, Wednesday night, after having been Prince of Suzdal' and Kiev for 33 years. His sons were Rostislav, Andrei Bogoliubskii, Ivan, Boris, Gleb, Mstislav, Vasil'ko, Iaroslav, Mikhalko and Vsevolod.[78] On Thursday he was buried in the church of the Monastery of the Holy Savior in Berestovo, and much wickedness occurred there the same day: his Krasnyi ["Beautiful"] palace was sacked; also, his other estate beyond the Dnieper, called *"Samorai,"* was sacked.[79] The estate of his son, Vasil'ko, in the city, was also pillaged, and the people of Suzdal' were killed in the cities and villages and their possessions were plundered.[80]

[GRAND PRINCE IZIASLAV DAVYDOVICH OF KIEV]

[1157]. Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich of Chernigov came to Kiev and assumed his [Dolgorukii's] possessions, and he captured the latter's guards, putting some into irons and others in jails; and he ascended to the throne of the grand principality of Kiev on the eighteenth day of the month of May. And the sons os his brothers were with him but he left Prince Sviatoslav Vladimirich in Chernigov. Then Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich and [his

77. *Osmenik*: probably from "osmniche," "vosmniche"—one-eighth, a customs duty collector.

78. Vsevolod was later called Vsevolod *"Bol'shoe gnezdo"* ("Great Nest") because of his large family.

79. *"Sam Rai,"* in *Hyp.*, *"Samorai,"* in *Nik.*

80. *In Hyp.* this item appears under the year 6666/1158; in *Laur.* and Novg. Syn., 6665/1157.

1157 nephew] Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich began campaigning against him, but he thrust them back and afterwards they moved, and stopped beyond the river Svinnaia. Hearing of this, Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich of Kiev marched from Kiev with Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich [who came to his aid]; and they camped one opposite the other, and they made peace and the grand principality of Chernigov was given to Sviatoslav Ol'govich while Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich received Novgorod Severskii. And so they made peace and remained in amity and went to their homes, and Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich returned to Kiev.

When the Novgorodians learned of the passing of the Grand Prince of Kiev, Iurii Vladimirich Monomashich Dolgorukii, and that after him Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich of Chernigov had ascended to the throne of the grand principality of Kiev, they began to push out of Novgorod their prince, Mstislav Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, and even sent many men-at-arms against him to force him to depart rapidly from the city; and they said, "We have sent for Sviatoslav Rostislavich [of Smolensk] to be our prince, and his brother, Prince Davyd Rostislavich; and then it will be very unpleasant for you to be here." At the same time they occupied the bridge over the Volkhov and there were many armed troops aligned there, and others on the opposite shore, so that fierce fighting almost ensued. But the same day Prince Sviatoslav Rostislavich came with his brother, Prince Davyd Rostislavich. Learning of this, Prince Mstislav Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, the same night fled from Novgorod to Rostov to his senior brother, Andrei Bogoliubskii. On the third day the Grand Prince of Smolensk, Rostislav Mstislavich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, himself came to Novgorod and so the kinsmen assembled, and there was no wickedness but there was great concord among them, and friendship, and he [Rostislav] assigned to the grand principality of Novgorod his son, Prince Sviatoslav; and in Novyi Torg[81] he assigned his son, Prince Davyd; while he, himself, returned to Smolensk.

The same year Constantine, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, having investigated Nestor, Bishop of Rostov, who had been unjustly calumniated by his people, ordered that all his calumniators be imprisoned.

81. Now Torzhok.

1157 The same year the people of Rostov and Suzdal' grew anxious over their prince, Andrei Bogoliubskii, son of Iurii Dolgorukii, who was mourning his father and who remained aloof from the grand principality of Kiev. They began to console him and, taking counsel, set him on the throne of his father in Rostov and in Suzdal'. This Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii was very much loved by them all because of his great virtue, because he cared for God and all the people, and because he performed many deeds and actions worthy of memory, adorned the churches, endowed them with many possessions and estates, and built monasteries, endowing them, also, with possessions and many estates; and he completed building the stone church of the Holy Savior, whose foundation had been laid by his father, Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii. He had great faith and love for God and the Most Pure Theotokos, and the names of Christ and His Most Pure Mother were always on his lips; and he enjoyed reading Holy Scripture, and would pray with tears; and he greatly respected bishops, priests and monks; and he considered how to organize a [separate from Kiev] Metropolitan See in Rostov and Suzdal', and how to build a great city of Vladimir—whose foundation had been laid by Grand Prince Vladimir, who Christianized the entire Russian land. And he thought continually about this and relied on God, Who may do as He wants—and remained always a tearful prayer, maintaining a strict life and emulating Christ, and having great love for the Emperor of Constantinople and the Patriarch, to whom he would send large and frequent gifts—and who, therefore, also bore friendship and meekness toward him and would send him frequent presents. Because of the latters' great virtues and love which they had for God and the Most Pure Mother of God, as well as among themselves and toward all, the Lord God and Most Pure Mother of God endowed them with Their grace so that they were able to defeat the same day the godless Ishmailites; and in order to commemorate this miracle, they established a holiday which was to be celebrated [both in Byzantium and Russia] on the first day of the month of August.

The same year Iziaslav [Davydovich, Grand Prince of Kiev] marched against [Iurii] Iaroslavich of Turov and, together with him, marched Iaroslav Iziaslavich of Lutsk and Iaropolk Andreevich, as well as an allied army of Galich; and Riurik Rostis-

1157 lavich with the levies of Smolensk; and Vladimir Mstislavich, the latter wanting to conquer Turov. The people of Polotsk also came to Lutsk and burned the villages around it, while at the same time the Berendeis raided around Pinsk and beyond the river Pripet; but those besieged in the city [of Turov] fought fiercely and many were wounded. Iurii Iaroslavich sent his envoys from the city to Iziaslav, imploring him humbly and saying, "Brother! Grant me your friendship!" Iziaslav, however, did not want to make peace but sought by all means to acquire Turov and Pinsk. He stayed at the city for ten weeks and a plague arose among his horses. Without succeeding in the least, he returned home, not having made peace with him [that is, with Iurii Iaroslavich of Turov]. And many returned on foot from this war.

STORY ABOUT THE HOLIDAY OF THE MOST VENERABLE CROSS, WHICH IS CELEBRATED THE FIRST DAY OF THE MONTH OF AUGUST

We have to know about this: "*Pantokrator imeros Kyrion Theon Sotirion imon*."[82] It is about the day of Our Lord Panctocrator and Our Savior, Jesus Christ, Whose divine mercifulness we celebrate, as well as the mercifulness of His Most Pure Mother of God, and about the origin of the holiday of the saintly venerable cross.

At that time in the city of Constantinople the Christloving Emperor Manuel reigned; in Rostov and Suzdal' was Grand Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii, who reigned on the throne of his father in the principality of Rostov and Suzdal'; and in Kiev and all Russia there was Metropolitan Constantine; and in Rostov there was Bishop Nestor. Both these autocrats, whose relations were very friendly, chanced to go to war on the same day. The Emperor of Constantinople went to fight against the Persians, from Constantinople, while the prince of Rostov went against the Bulgars, whom we now call the people of Kazan'.[83]

[ANDREI BOGOLIUBSKII'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE BULGARS]

82. In *Nik.* it is in Greek; in English: "Almighty, Tranquil Lord God, Our Saviour."

83. In 1237-1238 the region of the Volga Bulgars was conquered by Tatars, who founded their capital, Kazan', there, after which their khanate derived its name. Both the enemies of Emperor Manuel—actually, the Turks and not the Persians—and the enemies of Andrei Bogoliubskii, the Bulgars—were Moslems.

When begining a campaign this Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii, **1157**
son of Iurii Dolgorukii, had the custom of taking with him the icon of the Most Pure Theotokos and the lifegiving cross of Christ, which would be borne by two priests in holy vestments. So tearfully and with pure soul and heart he fell down before the icon of the Mother of God and the Venerable Cross, saying, "Our Most Pure Lady Theotokos, Who gave birth to Our God Christ, our protecting wall [against the infidels], help and hope of all! I, Thy sinful and unworthy servant, have this protecting wall, help and protection, as well as the cross of Thy Son, Which is an invisible weapon against the enemy." Then he said, "Lord God Jesus Christ, Our God! Through the prayers of Thy Mother and the strength of Thy Venerable Cross, help us against these godless barbarians and so Thy Holy Name will be glorified, as well as the Most Pure Name of Thy Mother." Thereafter they all prayed tearfully and faithfully, made the sign of the cross, and venerated the icon of the Most Pure Theotokos and the venerable and lifegiving cross; and they partook of the Most Holy and Lifegiving Host. Then all others who were with him also partook of the Sacred Host, and then attacked the godless Bulgars, sons of Hagar, who are now called the people of Kazan.'

They took four of their cities, as well as a fifth, called Briakhimov, on the river Kama. Having won this victory, they returned home. And he, himself, and who with him saw that from the icon of the Most Pure Theotokos there emanated flaming rays which illumined the entire army; therefore he and all those with him were seized by awe and trembling, and rendered up a prayer of thankfulness to Lord God and His Most Pure Mother. And he ordered that their [Bulgar] cities be burned by fire, and others they occupied and imposed tribute.

The same occurred that very day to the Emperor of Constantinople. Flaming rays proceeded from the icon of the Most Pure Theotokos and from the venerable and lifegiving cross of the Lord, and many Persian[84] Saracens were defeated. And so, with the blessing of blessed Luke, Patriarch of Constatinople, and of His Holiness Constantine, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, and Nestor, Bishop of Rostov, they established a holiday to com-

84. Actually, the enemies here were Turkish.

1158 memorate the honorable and lifegiving cross on the first day of the month of August.[85]

The same year Bishop Nestor of Rostov was driven from the see of Rostov and Suzdal' because of this holiday of the Lord: he ordered that meat not be eaten on the Lord's holidays which fell on Wednesday or Friday, as well as from Easter Week to Pentecost.[86]

In the year 6666 [1158]. His Holiness Constantine, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, appointed Arcadius to be bishop of Novgorod, and the same year he let him go to Novgorod.

The same year Grand Prince of Rostov and Suzdal', Andrei Bogoliubskii—son of Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh—laid the foundation of the great fortress in the city of Vladimir, which was considerably larger than the earlier one; and within it he laid the foundation of the cathedral of the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos, with one single cupola. And this happended on the eighth day of the month of April when the Holy Apostle Herodion[87] is commemorated, and it was a Tuesday. And he endowed this church with large estates and villages with their assizes, and every tenth in his herds of cattle, and a tithe from the market.

The same year the blessed princess, widow of Gleb Vseslavich, daughter of Iaropolk Iziaslavich, passed away after having remained a widow for forty years after the death of her prince. And altogether she lived eighty and four years. And she was buried in the Monastery of the Caves [in Kiev] near the head of St. Theodosius. She had great devotion toward the Holy Theotokos and toward our holy father Theodosius [the late Abbot of the Monastery of the Caves], and together with her prince, she emulated her father, Iaropolk. During his life [Iaropolk] gave [to the monastery] the districts of Nebel', of Drevlian, and of Lutsk near Kiev; while Gleb during his life together with his princess; gave 600 grivna of silver; and after him the princess gave 100 grivna of silver and 50 grivna of gold; and the princess left after her pass-

85. This story is not in *Laur.*, *Hyp.*, *Novg.* or *Musc. Late XV.*

86. Usually, when a holiday happens to fall on Wednesday, believers are absolved of fasting.

87. Herodion, in Russian, Rodion, was not an apostle, but a disciple from among the seventy.

ing many towns with peasants and with everything else. **1158**

The same year on the twelfth day of the month of May when St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Cyprus, is commemorated, Prince Boris, son of Iurii Dolgorukii, passed away. He was buried in the church of the Holy Martyrs, Boris and Gleb, which his father, Grand Prince Iurii Vladimirich Monomashich Dolgorukii, built on the river Nerli where once stood the camp of the Holy Martyrs, Boris and Gleb.[88]

[ROGVOLD'S STRUGGLE FOR A DOMAIN]

[6666 (1158)]. The same year Rogvold Borisovich left Sviatoslav Ol'govich [of Chernigov] taking with him Sviatoslav's troops, and he set out to obtain a domain for himself because his kin had deprived him of his possessions and wealth.[89] He marched to Slutsk and from thence contacted the people of Drutsk. The people of Drutsk liked him and invited him to come to them. "Come, Prince, without hesitation. We like you and if there is war, we and our children will fight for you." And over 300 people of Drutsk and Polotsk came to meet him. He entered the city with great honor and all the people were happy about him. They drove out Gleb Rostislavich and the burghers sacked his estate and captured his entire retinue. Gleb went to his father [Rostislav] Glebovich in Polotsk, but there was a great disturbance in that city because many people there also wanted Rogvold. With difficulty Rostislav [Glebovich] pacified them, giving them many presents, and then he let them pledge [fealty] to him on the cross. He marched with [his brothers] Vsevolod and Volodar', and all his kin, to Drutsk to fight Rogvold.

Rogvold prepared that city for a siege and they fought fiercely, many falling on both sides, and the people of Drutsk condemned and reviled the besiegers. Rostislav finally made peace with Rogvold and gave him additional lands, and Rostislav re-

88. Only the camp of St. Gleb could have been there, since St. Boris was murdered in southern Russia.

89. Rogvold Borisovich was from the Polotsk line of St. Vladimir's descendants, being the grandson of Vseslav, called "the Magician," who was a grandson of Iziaslav, son of St. Vladimir and Rogneda. The below-mentioned Rostislav Glebovich was Rogvold's second cousin and also Vseslav's grandson. The chronicles provide little if any information on the activities of this line.

1158 turned home with his kin. Then the people of Polotsk, however, organized an evil conspiracy against their prince, Rostislav Glebovich, breaking their pledge to him on the cross which they had given him. They had pledged, "You will be our prince and God will aid us to stand together with you, and we promise that we will never betray our pledge on the cross." They broke it, however, and sent secretly for Rogvold Borisovich of Drutsk, telling him, "Our Prince! We have commited sin against you because we rebelled against you without any fault on your part, and we sacked your property and that of your guard, and we turned you over to Rostislav Glebovich, to a bitter fate. If you do not remind us of what we committed in our madness and if you will pledge to us on the cross, then we will be your people and you will be our prince, and we will even turn over Rostislav into your hands and you may do with him as you will." When Rostislav received tidings of their conspiracy, he left Polotsk for Minsk, and Rogvold entered Polotsk, where he was received with honor.

[THE CLAIM OF IVAN BERLADNIK]

The same year Ivan Berladnik[90] left Iziaslav [of Kiev] and escaped into the prairie to the Polovetss, whom he joined and then marched toward the cities on the Danube, camping near them. On the Danube he destroyed two ships and took much merchandise from them and caused much harm to the fishermen of the principality of Galich. A large number of Polovetss came to him there, and under him altogether 6,000 warriors assembled there. From thence he marched to Kuchilmin and everyone was glad to have him. From thence he went to Uzhitsa but that city was already occupied by a garrison of Iaroslav [Osmomysl] of Galich which defended the city staunchly.

The bonded people [of that city], however, jumped over the walls to Ivan, and altogether 300 of them deserted to him. The Polovetss wanted to capture the city, but Ivan did not allow them

90. Ivan Berladnik was the nephew of Vladimirko of Galich and remained with no domain of his own. He was called "Berladnik" because he spent some time in the Moldavian town of Berlad on the river, Berlad, a tributary of the Danube, where adventurers and malcontents from Russia, Byzantium, and Moldavia congregated. Berladnik wanted to obtain a domain for himself, but did not until early in 1160. See also the footnote under the year 1146.

to and the Polovetss became wroth at him and departed from him. **1158**
At that time Iziaslav [Davydovich of Kiev] sent for Ivan and the latter came to Kiev. At that time Iziaslav also received tidings that Iaroslav of Galich, Mstislav [Iziaslavich] and Vladimir Andreevich wanted to fight him because of Ivan; therefore, he [Iziaslav of Kiev] summoned his brother, Sviatoslav [Ol'govich; actually, a cousin] of Chernigov, ceding him as dominion Mozyr' and Checheresk and telling him that there might be war on account of Ivan. Sviatoslav responded to him, "Brother! I was angry at you for not restoring me my domains in the principality of Chernigov, yet I did not wish you any evil; but since it may happen that you will be at war, God preserve me from quarreling with you over the dominions. You are my brother and I ask God to live in good accord with you." And they pledged on the cross to maintain friendship between them. Then Iziaslav [Davydovich], his cousin; Sviatoslav Ol'govich; the latter's sons, Oleg, Igor' and Vsevolod Sviatoslavich; and Sviatoslav Vladimirich [the nephew of Iziaslav] met in Lutan' and for three days there was great merriment. They bestowed many gifts upon each other and sent their messenger to the princes of Galich and Vladimir, informing them that God and the saintly cross had reconciled them. Therefore, those [princes of Galich and Vladimir], realizing that these kin had become united, did not march against them.

IZIASLAV READIES A CAMPAIGN AGAINST IAROSLAV OF GALICH ON BEHALF OF BERLADNIK

[*6666 (1158)*]. The same year Grand Prince of Kiev, Iziaslav Davydovich, grandson of Sviatoslav, great grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, summoned hosts against Grand Prince Iaroslav Vladimirkovich of Galich seeking to provide a domain for Ivan Berladnik, son of Rostislav, grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Prince Vladimir.[91] He called to his aid Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich [of Chernigov] and Sviatoslav Vsevolodich [of Novgorod Severskii] but they did not want to join him and advised him not to initiate a campaign. He did not heed their advice but marched,

91. The chronicler here provides an incorrect lineage for Berladnik. See the preceding footnote.

1158 boasting of his valour; and his nephew, Sviatoslav Vladimirich, and several Polovetsian princes with their Polovetss, marched with him.

Then, however, a messenger came to him with the tidings that numberless hosts were marching against him, "the armies of Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich [of Vladimir in Volynia], grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladmir Monomakh, gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir; of Prince Vladimir Mstislavich; and Grand Prince Iaroslav Vladimirkovich of Galich. And they have already occupied Belgorod." When Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich of Kiev learned of this, he thereupon straightaway advanced against them with a great many warriors, with Polovetsian khans and Polovetss, and they surrounded the city and a fierce and heated battle ensued. The next day the Polovetsian khan, Bashkord—father-in-law of his [Iziaslav's] nephew, Sviatoslav, son of Vladimir, grandson of Sviatoslav, great grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir came to him with 20,000 Polovetss. Then Grand Prince of Kiev Iziaslav Davydovich started negotiations with Mstislav Iziaslavich [of Volynia] concerning peace and friendship. When this happened the devil intervened, and with evil machinations he turned the hearts of Iziaslav's own men, and his people hatched a plot. Many of them fled from him secretly into the city [of Belgorod], and others openly went over to Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich.

When Grand Prince [Iziaslav] of Kiev realized what misfortune and difficulties had befallen him he became frightened and trembled greatly, shed tears, and fled to Vyshgorod with his nephew, Prince Sviatoslav Vladimirich, and thence to Gom'ia, from whence he forthwith dispatched his messenger for his princess, who was in Kiev. She escaped from Kiev to her son-in-law, Prince Gleb Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, to his city of Pereiaslavl'-Russkii. He accompanied her to Gom'ia to Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich.

[GRAND PRINCE ROSTISLAV MSTISLAVOVICH OF KIEV]

Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich and Prince Vladimir Andreevich, and Prince Iaroslav Mstislavich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, entered Kiev on the twenty-second day of the month

of August, and Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich seized all the personal property of Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich. And at that time Constantine, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, fearing Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich because he was not in amity with him, escaped from Kiev to Chernigov. **1158**

Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich occupied Kiev, everywhere appointed his people and sent to Smolensk for Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Smolensk [asking him] to return to Kiev and again be grand prince there. Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Smolensk, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, however, answered him:

"In the name of the spirit and mind of unity, you invite me to be Grand Prince of Kiev, and I am grateful to you for it. I have heard that you drove away from the principality of Kiev Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich and seized all his possessions; but I also heard about our spiritual father, His Holiness Constantine, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, that he fled from Kiev to Chernigov, fearing your hatred. This is by no means a worthy deed, [especially as] you still want to have Clement back as Metropolitan of the See of Kiev and all Russia—Clement, who was appointed to that position by [your father] Iziaslav Mstislavich together with the Russian bishops. But many of them [Bishops] were also upset about this. Constantine, indeed, was appointed Metropolitan by the Patriarch of Constantinople and by the Council which took place there, and he is the rightful Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia. And I, too, want him, although you drove him out."

Hearing this, Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich became embarrassed and sent to tell him, "Why are you so agitated and offended? Are you unaware that this Metropolitan Constantine was opposed to my father [who was likewise your brother] and anathematized him? Do you really approve this?" Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Smolensk answered him, saying, "When you already have a bad, hurtful wound, do not add to it anything still worse but try to cure it and heal your wound, for then you will be well and will receive grace in the present and in the future, and God will rejoice, and the people will be assuaged. The honor of a bishop depends upon God, and likewise his dishonor." They argued and disputed over this matter but finally agreed and de-

1159 cided that neither of the two Metropolitans [Constantine or Clement] should be in Kiev, and they sent to the Patriarch of Constantinople requesting another one. [And Prince Rostislav Mstislavich became Grand Prince of Kiev.]

The same year Leo became bishop of Rostov and Suzdal'.

[HOMILY ON PRIDE AND HUMILITY]

In the year 6667[1159]. Constantine, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, passed away in Chernigov, whither he had fled from Kiev, escaping the hatred of Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich. He did not want to be at odds and in contention with this prince [of Kiev], and he departed that city according to the teaching of Christ, Who said in His Gospel, "When they persecute you in a city, flee to the next one." [Matt. 10:23] But our Christ God will not want to deliver you to travail. And He warned us, "Yea and before governors and kings you will be brought for My Sake." Beware of men. "They shall deliver you up to councils; and in synagogues shall ye be beaten." [Mark 9:13; the structure of this quotation is reversed.] Not you will deliver yourself, but they will deliver you. For He said, "Be there wise as a serpent and harmless as a dove." [Matt. 10:16, paraphrased.] When people fight against each other, then they become more cruel, wicked and wrathful, which leads to still more unworthy and deadly happenings. But it is meet to alleviate wrath and rage with quietude, humility, words of persuasion and sweetness, all kind of wisdom as is fitting in such circumstances. And one should avoid involvement [in evildoing] and should flee as commanded by Christ, so as not to be responsible for the death of a multitude of people.

Wisdom counsels, "Deliver thyself [from anger] as a bird from the hand of the fowler and as a doe from the hands of a hunter." [Prov. 6:5] "Be slow to wrath and rage for the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." [James 4:19-20] "Avengeth not thyself, my beloved, and giveth not place unto wrath in your hearts." [Rom. 12:19, paraph.] Wrath may dwell only in the heart of a madman, and a wrathful man is uncomely. Rage leads one into degradation.

Our Lord God taught us not to resist evil [violently], and the Apostle [Paul] said, "If ye anger, whithal sin ye not, and let not the sun go down upon your wrath." [Eph. 4:26; translation somewhat

modernized according to *The Jerusalem Bible.*] All manner of bit- **1159**
terness, of fury, wrath and shouting should disappear. Wrath and fury lead to evil, particularly, to envy and cunning. Those [who are wrathful] must consider themselves, contemplate and pray in order not to fall into temptation. Paul, himself, the great Apostle of Christ, was obliged, one night, to be lowered in a basket from the wall of Damascus in order to escape the [Jewish] men who were watching for him [that they might kill him]. [Acts 9:23-25.] Also, other Apostles and many Holy Fathers eluded misfortune by fleeing and, thanks to the Wisdom of God, escaped from those who sought to ensnare them. Even Almighty god, Himself, taught us to flee, eluding Herod. Therefore we, humble ones, learn how to avoid ambition and pride so as to avoid misfortune. And so His Holiness Constantine, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, following the Commandment of Christ, did not permit himself to nourish hatred and prayed for them [his enemies], "Lord! Do not take this sin of theirs into account."[92] And then came his death: when he perceived that the time had come to depart this life and go to God, he summoned Anthony, Bishop of Chernigov, and instructed him as follows: "Oh, Bishop! After my death do not bury me, neither permit anyone to bury my body; but drag me by my legs from the town and throw me to be eaten by the dogs and the birds." And after his death Anthony, Bishop of Chernigov, did suchwise. Sviatoslav Ol'govich, Grand Prince of Chernigov, and all the princes and boiars, however, were astonished and awestruck by such an unusual request and by such great humility. And in the morning Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich, together with his bishop, Anthony of Chernigov, with the princes, boiars and vast multitude of people, assembled, went out of the city in awe and trembling and with great honor picked up the body, from which great fragrance emanated, carried it into the city and

92. This *Homily on Danger and Humility* is not to be found in the sources used by the compiler of *The Nikonian Chronicle*; nor is it found in *Laur., Hyp.* or *Troitsk.* Apparently, it is an early sixteenth-century interpolation, most probably by Metropolitan Daniel, whose style and manner of glorifying his predecessors in the office of Metropolitan is clearly imprinted on the text.

1159 buried him in the Church of St. Saviour of Chernigov.[93]

[PORTENT]

At that time on the day of his passing a very awesome portent occurred in Kiev. Whilst he lay without the city and up to the fourth day, when he was buried in the tomb in the Church of St. Saviour in Chernigov—during these four days an awesome portent occurred in Kiev: the rays of the sun were not to be seen. There was darkness. There was only flashing lightning, loud peals of thunder, great noise and extremely strong winds, storms and tornadoes, and many buildings were torn down to their foundations, and the prince's palace was destroyed, and many people were killed. When Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich, who was in the city of Kiev, learned that Constantine, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, had passed away in the city of Chernigov, he was seized by great awe and trembling. He perceived that this had happened because of the hatred which he harbored toward that bishop of God, and he went to confess and repent of his wicked intention. He mourned the entire night in the holy church, in the presence of a great multitude of people, and distributed vast alms, fed the poor and the hungry, and offered up a fair and spiritual feast; and so he recovered. In the city of Chernigov, however, throughout all these four days there was very fine weather, beautiful air, it was quiet and still, and the days were very beautiful.

[IZIASLAV DAVYDOVICH TRIES TO SEIZE CHERNIGOV]

The same year, Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich, who had been driven out of the grand principality of Kiev, started marshaling his hosts, and summoned the Polovetss because he wanted to recover the grand principality of Kiev. This principality of Kiev was favored and sought after by everyone [among the princes] and all of them wanted to fight for it. Therefore, also, this Grand

93. The description of the burial of Metropolitan Constantine is close to that in *Laur.* (1159) and *Musc. Late XV*. About three centuries later St. Nil Sorskii wrote in the same terms concerning his own burial. He asked that his body be thrown into the wilderness to be devoured there by the animals and birds. Arkhangel'skii, A.S., *Nil Sorskii i Vassian Patrikeev, Ikh literaturnye trudy i idei v Drevnei Rusi,* St. Petersburg, 1882, p. 43.

Prince Iziaslav Davydovich was sad and aggrieved that he had been driven out from it. When the Polovetsian khans arrived at Vyrev with their Polovetss, he went forward with them to Chernigov; arriving there, he camped near the river Desna. At that time Sviatoslav Ol'govich, grandson of Sviatoslav, great grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, was on the throne of the grand principality of Chernigov. Together with him were his nephew, Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, and Prince Riurik Rostislavich [of Smolensk, the son of Rostislav of Kiev]. They fought across the river Desna, unwilling to let them [Iziaslav and his Polovetss] into their land; and they sent to Kiev to Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich asking him to provide aid. He sent to their succour Prince Iaroslav Iziaslavich.[94] Prince Vladimir Andreevich [of Dorogobuzh], and the forces of Galich to help them. Receiving tidings of this, Grand Prince Iziaslav [Davydovich] retreated into the prairie with the Polovetss; they followed him across the river Desna, but, not finding him, turned back. **1159**

Meanwhile, Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich reached Igor's Ford, where he was attained by the messenger from Chernigov sent by his consorts. "Don't go from hence. Your brother, Sviatoslav[95] is sorely ill and his nephew, Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, has left him and gone to Novgorod, and the entire host have dispersed to their homes." Straightaway he hastened to Chernigov. At that time Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich of Chernigov, sorely ill and encamped in a tent before the city with his wife, his children and his boyars, was unaware of anything. Prince Iziaslav Davydovich forthwith marched against him, forded the river Desna and dispatched the Polovetss ahead to raid; and they burned the village of St. Saviour. When he received word of this, Prince Iaroslav Iziaslavich quickly assembled his warriors, marshaled the regiments and summoned Princes Vladimir Andreevich and Riurik Rostislavich because at that time Prince Vladimir Andreevich was approaching Chernigov with his regiments, and with him were the forces of Kiev and Galich. He marched posthaste, then halted and aligned his regiments, awaiting Prince Iziaslav Davydovich, prepared to do him battle. He sent the Be-

94. Brother of Mstislav Iziaslavich, who was in Kiev.

95. Actually, his cousin.

1159 rendeis against the Polovetss of Iziaslav. Those [Berendeis] moved to the onset, attacking them [the Polovetss], and retrieved the captives. The Polovetss fled to Iziaslav Davydovich saying, "A large number of people have come and have gathered a great host, while there are only a few of us. Therefore we cannot resist them." Hearing this, he fled beyond the river Desna; but those [troops of Vladimir Andreevich] pursued him beyond the river Desna, although they could not catch him, and so they turned back because Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich and the Polovetss had escaped into the prairie.

[SVIATOSLAV OL'GOVICH CAMPAIGNS AGAINST SVIATOSLAV VLADIMIRICH]

The same year Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich with the Polovetss campaigned in the principality of Smolensk. About the same time he arranged the marriage of his nephew, Prince Sviatoslav Vladimirich, with [the daughter of] Grand Prince of Rostov and Suzdal', Andrei Bogoliubskii, son of Iurii Dolgorukii and grandson of Vladimir Monomakh. The same year Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich [of Chernigov] and Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich [of the Seversk land] set out against Prince Sviatoslav Vladimirch [of Vchizh, grandson of Davyd Sviatoslavich] and besieged him in the city of Vereshch. He defended the city stoutly against them and dispatched a messenger to his uncle, Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich, as well as to his father-in-law, the grand prince of Rostov and Suzdal', Andrei Bogoliubskii, son of Iurii Dolgorukii, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh. When Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich received these tidings he summoned his troops with the intention of setting out to succour him. Also, [Sviatoslav Vladimirich's] father-in-law, [Andrei Bogoliubskii], Grand Prince of Rostov and Suzdal', sent to his aid his son, Prince Iziaslav, Sviatoslav's brother-in-law, together with a large host; also, the princes of Murom sent their forces to aid him. When they [Sviatoslav Ol'govich and Sviatoslav Vsevolodich] learned that Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich with strong forces, Prince Iziaslav Andreevich, also with strong forces, and the voevoda of the princes of Murom, likewise with strong forces, were marching against them, they became frightened, made peace with them and returned home. When Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich had witting of this covenant he marched into the land of the Viatichs,

while Prince Iziaslav Andreevich returned to his father in Rostov. **1159**

[NOVGOROD ARRESTS PRINCE SVIATOSLAV ROSTISLAVICH]

The same year the Novgorodians arrested their prince, Sviatoslav Rostislavich, and sent him to be incarcerated in Ladoga. They also sent his princess to be incarcerated, and they sacked all their possessions. When his father, Rostislav Mstislavich, Grand Prince of Kiev, received these tidings, he grew sore offended and very saddened. He arrested all the Novgorodians who were in his city of Kiev and commanded that they be thrown into the dungeons. Many of them died there; others he ordered be taken out of the city and resettled in other towns. He also sent to Novgorod to the Novgorodian people, saying to them, "If you do not release my son, Prince Sviatoslav, his wife and his boiars, I will do unto you the same as I have done unto those of your Novgorodians who were in my city of Kiev." But they imprisoned his envoys, robbed them, beat them stoutly and sent them to be incarcerated. They also sent their envoys to the Grand Prince of Rostov and Suzdal' [Andrei Bogoliubskii] asking him to dispatch his son to rule in Novgorod according unto their will; and he gave them his brother, Prince Mstislav, the son of Iurii Dolgorukii, but they did not want him. Then he [Bogoliubskii] sent them to be prince there in Novgorod, his nephew, Prince Mstislav Rostislavich, grandson of Iurii [Dolgorukii], great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh. They came with him to Novgorod and received from him a pledge on the cross covenanting that he would rule them according to their will.

The same year Prince Sviatoslav, son of Rostislav, grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, escaped from Ladoga to Kiev, to his father.

[IZIASLAV DAVYDOVICH FIGHTS GRAND PRINCE ROSTISLAV]

The same year the grand prince of Kiev, Rostislav Mstislavich, took Oleg, son of Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich of Chernigov, to dwell with him, saying, "In this wise all the people will be aware that there is great amity and concord in Christ between us." Indeed, Rostislav Mstislavich of Kiev loved Sviatoslav Ol'govich of Chernigov very much. This prince, Oleg Sviatoslavich, grandson of Oleg, resided only three days in Kiev with

1159 Rostislav Mstislavich in amity and great honor, for on the fourth day one of Rostislav's senior men, who was instructed by the devil, told him, "Prince! I must tell you something, and if you will not repeat it to anyone then I will reveal it to you." And the latter made promise by oath. And then this one said, "Prince! Beware! They want to imprison you." Oleg grew sore affeared and trembled greatly and went to Grand Prince Rostislav saying, "My mother is gravely ill. Let me go to Chernigov." Rostislav besought himself to console him but could not retain him and let him go, unaware of his apprehensions. When Oleg arrived in Chernigov he told everything to his father, Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich of Chernigov, and forthwith received from him permission to go to Kursk, where he communicated with Prince Iziaslav Davydovich. Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich sent him an expression of friendship and made alliance with him. Also [his cousin] Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich [of the Serversk land] entered into alliance with him. Receiving these tidings, his father, Sviatoslasv Ol'govich, felt sorely offended and aggrieved but his men told him, "Why do you, our lord prince, complain of your nephew, Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, and of your son, Prince Oleg? And why do you think of yourself? Are you unaware that Prince Roman, son of Rostislav, sent a message to Prince Iziaslav Davydovich, telling him, 'My father [Rostislav Mstislavich, Prince of Kiev] intends to give you the grand principality of Chernigov, provided you are in amity and concord with me.' And do you know that Prince Rostislav himself, intended to imprison your son, Oleg? You will destroy your dominion by continuing faithful to Rostislav Mstislavich whilst he harbors evil intentions concerning you and speaks fawningly all the while preparing a net to ensnare you and your children." And these evildoers created a quarrel between them and induced Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich of Chernigov to become alienated from Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Kiev because he believed all that was true; and he entered into alliance with Iziaslav Davydovich.

Iziaslav Davydovich, Sviatoslav Vsevolodich and Oleg Sviatoslavich marched with the Polovetss to meet Prince Gleb Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, who was in Pereiaslavl', enjoining him to campaign with them against Kiev, against Rostislav Mstislavich. They sojourned two weeks at Pereiaslavl' but did not succeed in gaining

him and returned to their places. Then the same year Grand **1159**
Prince [Rostislav Mstislavich] of Kiev marshalled strong forces and marched against Prince Iziaslav Davydovich, and against Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich and Prince Oleg Sviatoslavich. [Both hosts] met each other and there was a great exchange of invectives between them; but Christ God prevented them from any killing or shedding of blood, and so they returned to their places.

The same year Theodore, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, who had been consecrated to this see by the Patriarch of Constantinople, came from Constantinople because Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Kiev requested a new metropolitan of the Patriarch. Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Kiev went from Kiev to meet him and met him with great honor, and there was great merriment in Kiev.

The same year Prince Iziaslav Davydovich with Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich and with Prince Oleg Sviatoslavich, grandson of Oleg and with a multitude of Polovetss, marched against Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Kiev. Arriving there, they camped on the river Desna opposite Vyshgorod. Prince Rostislav Mstislavich, seeing this great multitude of warriors, took fright and trembled greatly because he could secure no aid from anyone—with the exception only of Prince Andrei and the people of Kiev. He sought to depart from Kiev but his retinue told him, "Prince! Do not flee! We can fight from the city. We have all manner of armament—stones, wood, pales, hot water, and our warriors will be on al the walls of the city." Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Kiev heeded their advice and started fighting, and a very fierce fight ensued between them. Nearly the entire city was surrounded by warriors so that it was terrifying to regard them because they covered the entire city with arrows, and the people of the city became wearied. And so Prince Iziaslav Davydovich began to prevail, and the tysiatskii of Kiev, Zhiroslav Andreevich, told Prince Rostislav Mstislavich, "Prince! Flee from the city and thus wise you will be free. If you continue within the city, be prepared to be captured by the soldiers. But when you are outside of the city and are riding your horse with your troops, you will be like a fearsome lion, and your soldiers will be as bears and wolves; or, you will be like an eagle flying beneath the clouds and your soldiers will be like gyrfalcons, and none will be able to overcome you."

1159 He heeded his advice, took his princess and his children, and escaped with all his warriors to Belgorod. Entering Belgorod, he enclosed himself in the city and dispatched a tearful and prayerful message to Prince Vladimir Andreevich and Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich [both of Volynia], asking them to help him.

[IZIASLAV DAVYDOVICH AGAIN BECOMES GRAND PRINCE OF KIEV AND DIES IN BATTLE]

Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich entered the city of Kiev and [again] became grand prince in Kiev. Hearing that Rostislav Mstislavich was prepared for a siege in Belgorod, he marched against him with the levies of Kiev, with Polovetss and with Berendeis. Approaching, he encircled Belgorod whilst the Polovetss scattered among the villages, raiding them. In the meantime Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich his brother, Iaroslav Iziaslavich, and Prince Iaropolk Andreevich arrived from the city of Vladimir in Volynia together with the levies of Vladimir and Lutsk as well as with the Poles and the Czechs, to aid Rostislav Mstislavich, who was in Belgorod, to fight Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich. As soon as the Berendeis received the tidings that Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich was drawing nigh with a great host, they abandoned Prince Iziaslav Davydovich and aligned themselves with Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich, who accepted them with joy. They pressed him to strike against Iziaslav Davydovich saying, "We join you. His host is dispersed throughout the villages and now he has naught but a very small retinue." When Mstisalv heard this he hurried to attack him, and, arriving, he ordered that the trumpets be sounded. When Iziaslav and his small retinue heard and saw this, they became confused an vacillated, seized by great fear, and they ran to and fro. Seeing this, Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich also fled with his small retinue, while Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich and Prince Rostislav Mstislavich pursued and caught up with him, and they clashed with him at the river Zhelana. There was such a fierce and cruel fight between them that even the river Zhelana became filled with blood because of the many killed. Then they stopped fighting at the river and began negotiating peace and friendship; but there was no friendship between them, and so they continued there for eight days.

At that time there were horrifying portents on the moon:

when it moved across the sky, it changed its form, becoming smaller and smaller, and it resembled a piece of scarlet woolen cloth. Then it looked as if it were bloody and had two faces, one—green, the other—yellow; and between them it seemed as if two warriors were fighting each other with swords, and from the head of one flowed blood while from the other flowed something resembling milk.[96] **1159**

Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich sent for reinforcements from the city of Vladimir to help his uncle, Rostislav Mstislavich. Then there came a very strong force: the hosts of Galich with their prince's voevoda. And from the Torks' land there was Prince Riurik, son of Rostislav, together with Prince Vladimir Andreevich, Prince Vasil'ko Iur'evich, the Berendeis, Kouis, the Dolmats,[97] the Torks and the Pechenegs. They joined Mstislav Iziaslavich, who was with Rostislav Mstislavich, Iaroslav Iziaslavich and Iaropolk Andreevich. And their hosts were without number, and they all marched against Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich; and the Black Cowls[98] were the first to attack him. He saw how great their force was, and immediately fled. They pursued and caught up with him and his small retinue, killed many of them and captured the others. They caught up with Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich, himself, who tried to escape into a wood but they began smiting him about the head with sabers, while Ivor Gedeminich[99] smote him in the shoulder with his lance. Another pierced him above the knee with his lance, and another struck him in the hip with his lance. He still tried to escape, but he was smitten in the armpit from an arbalest, so he fell from his horse but lay yet alive when Prince Rostislav Mstislavich approached him, with Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich. They both began to weep and shed tears, saying "Our lord Grand Prince Iziaslav Davydovich! Were you not satisfied to have your grand principality of Chernigov? And after you drove me from Kiev, which you occupied, why did you drive me from Belgorod?" But he could only lie prostrate and sigh deeply, and the blood poured from him. Then

96. *Hyp.*: under 1161.

97. The Kouis and Dolmats—Turkic tribes like the Torks or Berendeis, allies of the Russians against the Polovetss.

98. "*Chernye Klobuki*."

99. In *Hyp.*: Voibor Genechevich.

1159 he asked for some water to drink. Prince Rostislav and Prince Mstislav commanded that he be given wine but he answered, "I want water." Yet they gave him wine. And having drunk the wine, he fell into eternal sleep. They ordered that he be borne to Chernigov, and Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich of Chernigov buried his body in the church of the Holy Martyrs, Boris and Gleb. Such was the course of this rapidly passing life in this seductive age of Grand Prince Iziaslav, son of Davyd, grandson of Sviatoslav, great grandson of Iaroslav, great-great grandson of Great Vladimir.[100]

[ROSTISLAV AGAIN BECOMES GRAND PRINCE OF KIEV]

Then Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich assisted his uncle, Prince Rostislav Mstislavich, to regain the throne of the grand principality of Kiev while he, himself, went to Vladimir in Volynia to his own grand principality.

[BOGOLIUBSKII RECONSTRUCTS THE CITY OF VLADIMIR]

The same year Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii of Rostov and Suzdal', son of Iurii Dolgorukii, set about a great reconstruction of the city of Vladimir [in the Suzdalian land]. He wanted to make this city the capital of his own grand principality, but the people of Rostov and Suzdal' opposed this, saying, "Rostov is an old and large city, as is Suzdal'; but the city of Vladimir is only one of our burghs." Grand Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii of Rostov and Suzdal', however, not only wanted to construct there the capital of his grand principality but also wished to create a Metropolitan See there, and to do so according to the old laws and canons [so that the cration of the Metropolia] would honor Christ. This grand prince of Rostov and Suzdal', Andrei Iur'evich grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, great grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav and gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, was a man who loved God and the people, and he was much inclined toward the ecclesiastic canons and orders, greatly honoring the bishops, priests and monks. That is why he was glorified by God. Everywhere his name was glorified: it was said, "Those who glorify Me will themselves be glorified." "One would not only love the poor and lepers, but must also regard them and care for them with one's own hands, and speak to them in a meek, quiet and merciful

100. According to *Hyp.*, Iziaslav died in 1162.

way, and console them as well as feed them and give them to drink." **1160**

In the year 6668 [1160]. In the new [rebuilt] city of Vladimir the construction of the cathedral church in honor of the Assumption of the Immaculate Theotokos was completed by Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii of Rostov and Suzdal', being built with one cupola, and its roof was gilt. Because of his virtues and devotion to the Most Pure Theotokos, Lord God helped him to assemble all manner of masters and artists from all lands, and he adorned the cathedral more lavishly than any other churches were adorned. He embellished it with many wonderful icons and church vessels made of gold and silver, adorned it with precious gems and pearls, with numerous books, with vestments and covers and with all manner of ecclesiastic objects.[1]

He placed [in the cathedral] the Miraculous Icon of the Most Pure Theotokos, which was said to have been painted by Evangelist Luke and which was brought by boat from Constantinople to his father, together with the Pyrogoshchaia Icon.[2] He [Bogoliubskii] took it from his father and brought it from Kiev, and adorned it with thirty grivnas of gold, besides silver, gems and pearls. And for [the glory of] God and the Most Pure Theotokos he endowed this wonderfully embellished holy cathedral church of Her Assumption with a large number of possessions and estates and with revenues from the districts, from the purchased settlements and from the better towns, as well as with a tithe from the weekly market and from the harvests and from the herds of cattle and from other properties. And these endowments were confirmed not only by a statute of the grand principality but also by those of the Divine and Sacred Metropolitan See, and also by the blessed and sacred statutes promulgated by Grand Prince Vladimir. And what was endowed to the glory of God and to the Most Pure Theotokos was placed under the protection of the laws of Lord God, the Holy Apostles, Holy Fathers and pious Orthodox emperors, and holy and blessed Grand Prince Vladimir, and will remain unshakable and indissoluble forever and ever.

1. *Laur.*, 1160; *Hyp.*, 1162.

2. Concerning the origin of these two icons, see the footnotes under the entry for the year 6663 (1155).

1160 And who would be able to describe the virtues, quietude and meekness of this Grand Prince Andrei [Bogoliubskii], son of Iurii [Dolgorukii] and grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, and who would be able to describe his humility and love for God and the Most Pure Theotokos, his love for people, his care for the sake of God, for the pure and strong, and his veneration of the words [of God] which are read, sung and used in prayers? He did not enjoy the pleasures of this present and swiftly passing life but he cared for the joys and pleasures of the life after death with Christ-God. And therefore he was hated by the devil, the loathsome enemy of humankind, as well as by the latter's servants, evil, wicked and envious people

The same year the foundation was laid for the church of the Savior in Vladimir.

[THE CONTROVERSY OVER BISHOP LEO]

The same year there was a controversy over Bishop Leo because he was not lawfully appointed to the bishopric of Rostov and Suzdal', for at that time Nestor was already bishop of Rostov and Suzdal' and was alive.[3] [This Leo] seized Nestor's see contrary to the Sacred Canon of the Holy Apostles and the Holy Fathers, and therefore Prince Andrei Iur'evich cast him out.

Prince Andrei was deceived by some evil members of his household, who told him that his kin despised him, and thus in the most deceitful and evil manner they incited him into dispute and contention with his brothers: with Prince Mstislav Iur'evich, Prince Vasil'ko Iur'evich and Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich, as well as with several of his father's foremost advisors. In consequence, he drove away his brothers because he sought to be the only ruler of the Rostovian and Suzdalian land, and he even threw over several of his father's advisors and cast some others into a dungeon. So there was a great disturbance in the Rostovian and Suzdalian land.

The same year, however, Prince Andrei Iur'evich allowed Bishop Leo to return to his see of Rostov and Suzdal', and Leo began to teach that meat should not be eaten on Our Lord's holidays, even on the days of Christmas and Epiphany when these occur on Wednesday and Friday. This caused a great con-

3. In *Laur.*, 1164.

troversy among the people of Andrei Iur'evich [Bogoliubskii] and Bishop Theodore disputed with him.[4] Thereupon Bishop Leo went for instructions to Constantinople, where he visited Patriarch Luke. Then he went to Emperor Manuel, in whose presence Bishop Hadrian of Bulgaria exposed him. At that time an ambassador from the Grand Prince [Rostislav] of Kiev, a certain Ivan Iakovlev, came to Emperor Manuel; and another ambassador, by the name of Il'ia Andreevich, came from Grand Prince Andrei Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii; a third envoy came from Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich of Chernigov; and a fourth envoy, from the Grand Prince of Pereiaslavl'. The same year an envoy named Andrew came from Luke, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Grand Prince Andrei Iur'evich [Bogoliubskii] of Rostov and Suzdal' to discuss the matter of Bishop Nestor of Rostov and Suzdal'. "You should let him return to his see of Rostov and Suzdal', so that he should not wander in foreign lands, and you should do so in order to prevent the Name of Christ from being offended and so that you not be struck down by the wrath of God." **1160**

[BOGOLIUBSKII'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE POLOVETSS]

The same year Prince Andrei Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, sent his son, Prince Iziaslav, to campaign, and with him there went many other princes and the hosts of Rostov, Suzdal', Riazan', Murom, Pronsk and other lands which came to his aid; they marched against the Polovetss into the prairie, deep beyond the Don, and they fought them. There was a great and cruel sword-clashing, and the Russian princes gained the ascendance. The Polovetss fled to all parts of the prairie and the Russian warriors pursued them as far as Rzhavets; but there the Polovetss rallied and thrust back the Russian troops, of whom many were killed. Lord God, however, and the Most Pure Theotokos helped the Christian warriors and they pursued the Polovetss, who dispersed throughout the prairie or escaped to their encampment. The Russians returned home, but only with a small army because all the others had been killed by the Polovetss in the prairie.

4. Theodore, or, as he was usually called, Feodorets, was a married priest who was greatly respected by Bogoliubskii, and was his candidate—bishop-elect—to the See of Rostov, Suzdal' and Vladimir.

1160 [BOGOLIUBSKII SEEKS A SEPARATE METROPOLITAN SEE IN VLADIMIR]

The same year Andrei Iur'evich son of Dolgorukii, Prince of Rostov and Suzdal', addressed his princes and boiars:

"This city of Vladimir was founded by the holy and blessed Prince Vladimir, who gave it his own name. This Vladimir enlightened the entire Russian land with Holy Baptism, and now I, a sinful and unworthy one, thanks to Divine Grace and with the help of the Most Pure Theotokos, have enlarged it and elevated it as much as I could, and I have built there a church in honor of the Most Pure Theotokos and Her Venerable Assumption. I have adorned and endowed it with possessions and wealth, with districts and towns, and I have apportioned a tithe of every weekly market and a tenth of the herds of cattle, and from everything I have given tithes to Lord God and to the Most Pure Theotokos; therefore, I would like to establish a Metropolitan see in this city so that the city may be [the capital of] the grand principality and the head city of the entire land."

The princes and boiars approved all he suggested and he sent his ambassador, Iakov Stanislavich, to Constantinople to the Patriarch, whom he asked to bless the city of Vladimir with a Metropolitan see and to consecrate a metropolitan for this see. He told him, "I have built a very large city and I have endowed it with many estates and domains and towns and settlements and districts, and with one tithe of the weekly markets and one tithe of the harvest and one tithe of everything else. I have done so according to the canons and commandments which I have received from holy and blessed Grand Prince Vladimir of Kiev and all Russia. He accepted them according to the Greek *Nomocanon*[5] and we will observe them now without change from generation, unto generation, unto the end of the world."

His Holiness Luke, Patriarch of Constantinople, listened to this message and commanded that it be read before the Holy Council, in which Nestor, Bishop of Rostov and Suzdal', participated, as well as an envoy from Theodore, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia.[6] He [Patriarch Luke] sent him [Andrei] the following message:

5. *Nomocanon*: the Byzantine code of canonic law.

6. Metropolitan Theodore, a Greek appointed to Kiev by the Pat-

MESSAGE OF THE GREEK PATRIARCH LUKE TO ANDREI IUR'EVICH BOGOLIUBSKII, SON OF IURII DOLGORUKII, GRANDSON OF VLADIMIR, PRINCE OF ROSTOV AND SUZDAL', CONCERNING BISHOP NESTOR OF ROSTOV AND SUZDAL'[7] 1160

Our spiritual and beloved son in Christ, most honorable prince of Rostov and Suzdal! A missile from your honor to our humility has been brouth hither by your envoy, Iakov Stanislavich, and has been read in the Sacred Council of our humility. From

riarch of Constantinople, should not be confused with the so called "Bishop Theodore" or Feodorets, administrator of the See of Vladimir, Suzdal' and Rostov mentioned earlier in the same annual entry. This Feodorets was never consecreated and became "bishop elect" because of Andrei Bogoliubskii's strong support. Bogoliubskii wanted to establish a Metropolitan See in Vladimir, which would be independent from Kiev and would enhance the prestige of Suzdal' and himself, especially of the city of Kiev. In some chronicles (*i.e.*, PSRL, vol. 30) Feodorets is called bishop. Apparently, he was married and refused to observe the rule of celibacy as it applied to bishops. (The forty-eighth rule of the Oecumenical Trullan Council in 691 A.D. introduced strict celibacy for bishops: Kartashev, I, 178-181.) He had no respect for monks or monastic principles generally, and allowed all manner of food to be eaten on fast days. Physically extremely strong, he was an arrogant person and cruelly severe with the clergy, even closing some churches whose priests would not accept his obviously unorthodox teaching and behavior. He was strongly supported by Andrei Bogoliubskii, who expelled Nestor and then Leo, bishops of Rostov and Suzdal', seeking to elevate his new capital city of Vladimir to the center of Russia and to establish there a Metropolitan See independent from Kiev. In view of Feodorets's teaching, Patriarch Luke Chrysoberg of Constantinople not only defended Bishop Nestor and, later, Bishop Leo as legal heads of the Suzdalian church, but also dealt extensively with the problems of celibacy, chastity and the rules for fasting when holidays fall on Wednesday and Friday.

7. To this message of Patriarch Luke's some Russian ecclesiastic writer added two important sections aimed at strengthening the patriarch's defense of bishops' celibacy and chastity. Both these addenda appear in the *Nik.* version and are singled out in this text by the editor of the present English edition of *Nik.* The first deals with the nature of Holy Sophia (Wisdom of God) and is shorter. The second deals with the problem of episcopal celibacy and, more generally, Christian chastity, and strongly defends the principles of monasticism. In the message, itself, there is confusion over the name of the bishop of Rostov: it should read "Leo," not "Nestor." This Bishop Leo was expelled by Andrei Bogoliubskii in favor of Theodore-Feodorets. See Sokolov, P., *Russkii arkhierei iz Vizantii i pravo ego naznacheniia do nachala XV v.*, Kiev 1913, pp., 110-127; and Kartashev, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 178-181.

1160 the wording of your writing I understand that, thanks to divine grace and mercy and with the intercession of the Most Pure Theotokos, as well as owing to your faith and virtue, great piety is spreading throughout your land, and in many places you have built holy churches and honorable monasteries to venerate Christ-God and the Most Pure Theotokos: we thank you for these blessed deeds which you have performed owing to your great faith in Lord God and the Most Pure Theotokos. [We have likewise learned that] you have, futher, embellished this church with many expensive and holy icons, with books and sacred vessels, and with other objects; and that you have decorated it with gold, silver and pearls, and have endowed it with many estates and abundant income, together with revenues from towns, settlements and districts, as well as with a tithe from the markets, from the harvests and from the herds of cattle, and with a tithe from the *puds*[8] and from all the goods, whatever be their weight or measure. You have offered all this to Lord God and to the Most Pure Theotokos in agreement with the holy and divine canons and statutes, just as did you forefather, holy and blessed Prince Vladimir, who willed that [this tradition] be preserved. And you have promised that [this endowment] will continue in future from generation unto generation and unto the end of the world.

You do not want, however, that your diocese of Rostov and Suzdal' abide in agreement with the canons but you seek to create a new metropolitan see, and you enjoin us to consecrate as metropolitan to this see a certain Theodore who resides with Your Honor.[9]

For your care for the city and the holy church which you have built to the glory of Lord God and the Most Pure Theotokos, and which you have embellished with all the sacred arts and which you have endowed with possessions and wealth, you will be rewarded by Lord God and the Most Pure Theotokos, especially since you have created many other churches and monasteries; therefore you will enjoy unspeakable joy in the heavens of Christ God because you did all this piously and wisely, for the sake of God.

Yet, it is not possible to separate that city from the rightful

8. *Pud*: a measure of about forty pounds.

9. Here is meant, once more, the same Feodorets of Vladimir.

and legal jurisdiction of the episcopal see of Rostov and to estab- **1160**
lish there a metropolitan see. Your honor should be aware, as I have already written you, after hearing about it, that this city is not located in a recently acquired land or region but is an integral part of the original principality of the land and region of Rostov and Suzdal', in which your father and forefathers used to rule and in which you rule now. From olden times there has been a single episcopal see, a single bishop for this entire land, consecrated by the most sacred metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia. This metropolitan has been invested and consecrated by our holy and great church and has been sent thither by us to the sacred and divine metropolitan see of Kiev and all Russia. This metropolitan, himself, appoints and consecrates the bishops who are under him, according to the sacred and divine rules and statutes; and he judges and rules all those who are under his jurisdication; and we cannot take away or change this right of his because it would be a violation of the holy canons. These holy and divine canons of the holy Apostles and holy fathers preserve without any infringement the rights of the metropolitan see [of Kiev] and of the bishops; according to them, nothing should be altered in the statutes [of the metropolitan see] and no one can break these divine and sacred rules if he does not want to become alienated or estranged from God.

We have also read your other missiles which were sent to us, in which you raise accusations against your God-loving bishop [Leo]; but we have also been informed by the sacred metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, as well as by the message of the bishops under him and by the envoy of His Majesty, the Emperor, our son, and from many other persons, that these accusations of your bishop have already been discussed there before the Council and in the presence of the envoy of the Grand Prince of Kiev, as well as by some envoy of your honor's. They found that all these accusations are unfounded because the bishop did not commit any evil and no fault can be found in him. Therefore, this bishop was acquitted before the Council which was summoned by the metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, and we ought not change the decision of this Sacred Council because this case has already been investigated there. Also, the holy canons do not allow us to do so, but prescribe that every bishop should be judged before the coun-

1160 cil of his holy metropolitan: and therefore we, also, follow [the decision based on these] holy and divine canons, which we have received and which we have learned. Since, however, this bishop, trusting in his own right, shedding tears, being sorely grieved and saddened, has constantly petitioned and appealed to us that we investigate his case, this holy and divine council has consented to his pleading and has read all the accusations and statements of his fault contained in the message dispatched by your honor.

Indeed, this bishop gave explanations against all the accusations and has justified himself according to the sacred and divine rules; and now he has been acquitted by us and has been accepted to co-celebrate the sacred and divine service with us; and thus he has celebrated the divine services. We have sent him back to your honor entirely exonerated, so you should accept him with love and honor because, verily, he is exonerated by God, Himself, and has been sent to you by our humility and by the sacred and divine great council. You certainly will not resist the judgement of all the bishops and our humility, if you want to be in communion with Christ God, Who by His descent united heaven and earth. You, our spiritual son, will not be willing to be deprived of the grace and blessing of the sacred great conciliar church, or of the prayers of the great sacred bishops and of our humility, who met here.

Therefore, lay aside all doubt and grief and remove from your heart the hatred which was instilled in you by the devil because already you have your bishop. Accept him with joy and honor as if he were Christ, with quietude, with meekness, humility and love, because this bishop deserves the grace of God since he is filled with good sense, is endowed with reason, is honored with eloquence, shines with virtues, is adorned with [a virtuous] life, and is aware how to be a shepherd and how to rule the flock entrusted him by Lord God. Yes, my son, having such a shepherd, do not ask for another but accept him as a truly great bishop, as father, as teacher and pastor. Accept him in your land with love and honor so that he may shepherd the divine flock and not wander [as an exile] in foreign lands. And your honor should not continue in the sin [of rejecting him] but should allow him to build his church, because the grace of the Holy Spirit has been bestowed upon him and because this was desired by God and man.

Now, if your honor would like to reside in the city [of Vla-

dimir] which you created, and if this bishop also would like to reside in it with you, then this God-loving bishop should be your spiritual father, teacher and shepherd, and should stay with you so that there will be no wickedness, and you should be good to him for the sake of God, because your city is within the jurisdiction of his diocese of Rostov and Suzdal'. **1160**

If, however, after his acquittal—and he was acquitted by His Lord God and by the Most Pure Theotokos and by his holiness, the metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, with his bishops under his jurisdiction, and then he was acquitted by this great, holy and divine council, as well as by our humility; and this was done in the most definite way—you would not assume toward him the attitude which should be assumed for the sake of God, and would not follow his instructions and his punishments, but began to persecute him, your bishop, father, teacher and shepherd given by Christ God; and you followed other advice outside the law. Then you should not be unaware, my beloved son in Christ, that even if you filled the entire world with churches and monasteries and built numberless cities, withal persecuting the bishop, the head of the church and of man, then these churches would be no churches but pigsties, and you, yourself, would receive no salvation or reward for building them.

We are aware that your pious bishop has been persecuted and dishonored only for the sake of a certain Theodore, son of the sister of Bishop Manuel, who was nominated to bishop despite the fact that he was married. This Theodore teaches, contrary to the instructions of the bishop and contrary to the rules of the Holy Apostles and Holy Fathers, to eat meat on Wednesday and Friday, even when these days coincide with the Lord's holiday or with the days when certain saints are remembered, as well as on Wednesday and Friday before Holy Pentecost. And he likewise has performed many rude and senseless actions and teachings. And this Theodore has maligned and persecuted those who live the pure life of celibacy, those who have become monks for the sake of God and who have learned God's wisdom. Verily, this one completely lost his mind and had his reason destroyed. He could not understand or comprehend real wisdom and the [chaste] way to salvation for the sake of God.

1160 [LATER INTERPOLATIONS IN THE MESSAGE OF PATRIARCH LUKE]
[*1. DISCOURSE ON HOLY SOPHIA*]

One must realize what Sophia is, the Wisdom of God: it is the chastity of unspeakable purity; and this Wisdom is the truth of humble saved ones. Christ is the Head above us. He is the Head because He is Wisdom. He is the Son Who is the Word of God. He descended from Heaven into the Most Pure Virgin and Chaste Mary, and therefore those who follow the way of chastity follow the way of the Most Pure Theotokos, because this Most Pure Virgin gave birth to Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God. Those who follow the way of chastity give birth to words of wisdom and mission, and they teach those who are still unenlightened and have not received grace. Celibacy was the way of the Great Precursor, the Baptiser of Christ, who showed through the way of celibacy the difficult and wise life in Christ. This purity of celibacy was the way of great St. John, the Theologian, and he was rewarded by resting on the bosom of the Lord, and he was the beloved pupil of Christ God.

[*2. DISCOURSE ON CHASTITY*][10]

Chastity has the fiery face of a maid. Fire is a divinity which burns all carnal passions and lightens a pure soul, which the prophets and angels had. A life of celibacy is pure and similar to the life of the angels. Prophets [and now bishops] have been the repositories of the manifestation of the Holy Spirit. [They, the chaste] have a royal crown on their heads as the symbol of humble Wisdom, which reigns over passions. The [bishop's] girding of their loins demonstrates their sincerity, their holiness, their exalted position. In their hands they hold the sacred, lordly, episcopal sceptor. Their prophetic talents are symbolized by the fiery, high-flying wing of the eagle because they prove their reason. The eagle is a bird of perceptive sight because he follows the hunter and flies to the heights, and therefore he is an appropriate emblem. Those who follow the way of chastity and Wisdom are not caught by the ensnaring devil. In their right hand they [the

10. This Discourse is based on St. John Chrysostom's discussion of the Gospel by Matthew, according to P. Sokolov (in his *Russkii arkhierei v Vizantii*, Kiev, 1913, p. 116) the epistle deals not with the case of Bishop Nestor but Bishop Leo.

bishops] hold the scroll on which are inscribed unknown and con- **1160**
cealed mysteries; and it is their duty to see and to read these writings, and to avoid alien and lawless controversy. The cloak of light is also the affirmation of the seven pillars of the seven gifts of the Spirit. And under their [the bishops'] feet is a stone, according to the Lord's words: "On this stone I will build my church, and the gates of hell will not overcome it." [Matt. 16:18] And "I will give you the keys to the Heavenly Kingdom, and those whom you bind on earth will be bound in Heaven; and those whom you absolve on earth will be absolved in Heaven." [Matt. 16:19]

Chastity is especially regarded. Christ did not destroy the seal of virginity because He was born of a Virgin. One should venerate it because celibacy is above and by far more honorable than marriage. In the same way as the angels are above man, and Heaven is over the earth, so is the celibate person above the married one. Celibacy is the angels' way of life! The Lord said in the Gospel written by Luke, "The sons of this age marry and trespass, but those who will be granted to arise on the day of the Resurrection will neither marry nor trespass, nor can they die. They will be equal to the angels, and they are the sons of God." And in the Gospel of Matthew it is said, "For in the Resurrection they will neither marry nor be given in marriage, but are as the angels in the heavens." [Matt. 22:30]

And St. John Chrysostom also says,"Even before the day of Resurrection you will be shown the angelic face of the spiritual host of those who despised this passing life, who adhered to spiritual values and whose angelic face is the Luminary of the world. And they are so because when the flesh of Christ was crucified, passions and lust were simultaneously also crucified. When the sun shall rise higher than it has ever risen, those who are in awe of the Lord will arise from their couches cheerfully, sober, troubled neither by the grief of everyday life nor by vanity, nor by the sadness of decay and death, nor be earthly work and vanity, nor by grief, nor the desires of real life, nor will they care for ought else but will remain in the heavens like the angels. When they arise fairly and joyfully from their couches, they will form a unanimous host of fair conscience, agreeing one with the other, and as a single mouth they will sing the glory of God, praising Him and expressing gratitude to Him for all and, especially, for

1160 those blessings which we see were not provided to Adam."

And now we may ask, in what respect does their dignity [that of those who preserve their chastity—that is, of monks] differ from that of angels, for they both chant and proclaim "Glory to God in the Highest, and on earth, peace among men, in Whom He is well pleased." [Luke 2:14] Even their vestments reflect their courage because they do not don beautiful attire which reflects any weakness or faint heart, but adopt the pattern of attire of the divine angels, of Elias, Elisha and the Apostle John;[11] some are clothed in goat skins, in the manner the ancient ones used to do. Some are in camel hair and some in skins, and they lean on a staff and sing chants, kneeling, praising God and praying for such things as would not even occur to the mind of a common man. They pray because the present is of no importance; they pray for the remission of a sinner's sins, and for permission to appear before the Last Judgment, when the Everbegotten Son of God will come to judge the quick and the dead; and they pray that none fear to hear, "I do not know you. Depart, accursed ones, into the fire eternal, prepared for the devil and for his [fallen] angels."

Those with pure consciences, who practiced this great effort and care, however, will accomplish their salvation despite the deep waters of this vain and seductive age. Then these will build their tents afar off from those of the evil ones.

Do we [the celibate clergy] not voluntarily arrive at such a state of blessing? Do we not approach the angels? Do we not attempt to live with the angels? Are we not willing to don pure vestments and to be rescued through such a wedding [with the church]? Do we not hope to be called to such a divine wedding? Do we not try to be prepared for entrance into the dwelling place of elected souls by way of good deeds and purity of life? Then we will depart to Heavenly dwellings, thanks to our deeds, and will be together with the angels and the Angelic Lord, Himself. Indeed, once He came, appearing in the guise of a pilgrim to Abraham, although this one was married and had children. A man who liberates himself from [the desires of] the flesh and who disdains his own flesh achieves, however, greater virtue and glorifies [God] with due glorification. The blessed Chrysostom and other saints lived accordingly in celibacy, and those who live a pure life are

11. Here is meant St. John the Baptist.

particularly honored. Chastity is the way of life of the angels, and **1160**
those who love chastity are in accord with the angels. [End of the interpolation from St. John Chrysostom]

[CONTINUATION OF THE MESSAGE OF PATRIARCH LUKE]

We teach and instruct your honor and your piety to be aware of false prophets [like Theodore] who come at times in the guise of sheep, and not to believe all manner of teaching but to be in agreement with the Apostle, who said, "Brethren! Obey your elders and follow them because they care for your souls, and they will speak" [Hebr. 13:17. paraphrased] for you on the day of the Last Judgment. Our spiritual son, beloved in God, obey your God-loving bishop!

When the Lord's holiday—the Nativity of Christ, as well as Epiphany—occur on Wednesday and Friday, the bishop permits laymen to eat meat and other food, and monks to eat milk, butter, cheese and eggs. On the Nativity of the Most Pure Theotokos, on Candlemas Day and on the day of the Transfiguration, however, when they occur on Wednesday and Friday, monks and laymen are allowed vegetable oil, vegetables, fish and wine. On the Annunciation and up to Palm Sunday, whatever day it may be, butter, vegetables and wine are permissible. In Holy Week until Good Friday vegetables, oil and wine are permitted; on Good Friday, also wine. During both holidays of St. John the Precursor, as well as on the holidays of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and of the beloved John the Theologian, and other saints, when they occur on Wednesday and Friday, in case the bishop blesses and permits, vegetable oil, vegetables, fish and wine are permitted; and you are supposed to do thus. On the holiday of the Elevation of the Venerable Cross, vegetable oil and wine. During the twelve days from Christmas to Epiphany, as well as during the week of the tax collectors and pharisees, in Shrove Week, Easter Week and the week after Pentecost, and from Holy Week to Pentecost, you do not need to fast up to the ninth hour. The eating of fish, butter, and meat is forbidden, however, by the Apostolic rules but vegetable oil and other vegetables, as well as fish, are permitted because on these days you will remember the Crucifixion of the Lord and on these days we sing the hymns pertaining to the Crucifixion; but on Sundays as well as on the other days, we add to this chant-

ing *troparia* of mercy.[12]

1160 When other of the Lord's holidays or the day of the commemoration of saints occurs on Wednesday or Friday, and this up to Pentecost, ask your bishop and do as he tells you, believing that Lord God, Himself, speaks with the lips of your bishop. And if he does not allow otherwise, then you must fast. None among the people, be he clergyman, presbyter or monk, or even an angel—because the angels have power in Heaven to permit and to forbid—but only your God-loving bishop was appointed by Lord God to be head of your land and of yourself.

Therefore, beginning from now, beware of evil teaching, of flattering and intriguers. As far as this Theodore [Feodorets] is concerned, do not permit him to remain with you, and force him to go to your bishop because he should return to the true faith, and, thanks to the grace of God, he may repent. In the case, however, that he, while there [in Vladimir] confuses the clerics and spreads gossip, accusations and false witness against the bishop, doing so against the Holy and Divine Rules, then he is considered as excommunicated by this holy and divine great Council, which includes our humility. We proclaim this in accordance with the power of the Holy Spirit and with the statutes and words of Our Great Hierarch, Our Savior, Jesus Christ. In case he [Theodore] does not straighten out and continues to seduce the people, then he must be excommunicated from the holy church and must not be allowed to enter the holy shrines, according to the Twenty-eighth rule of the Holy Apostles. And these rules would not apply only to him but also to his accomplices, his supporters and his cohorts who follow his teaching, which trespasses the canons.

This entire holy and divine great Council, together with our humility, embrace you, our most honorable spiritual son; and we instruct you to respect and honor your preceptors, who teach you for the sake of God and who instruct you. You should obey this instruction and these rules with love, because you have received them from us in the Lord. You should follow our instruction and our blessing for the sake of Divine Love; and therefore you must respect you bishop. We have written this, have instructed you in a fatherly way, because in honoring the bishop, you honor Christ.

12. *Troparion, pl., troparia*—stanzas of a hymn.

He bears the Image of Christ and he sits in the seat of Christ. Do not become weary of listening nor cease to respect those who instruct you how to enjoy the future blessings; and thus you will be greatly glorified. **1160**

May the blessing of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of Our Father, God, and communion with the Holy Spirit remain with your honor. Amen."

[BOGOLIUBSKII'S BROTHERS GO TO CONSTANTINOPLE]

6668 [1160]. The same year [the exiled brothers] of Andrei Bogoliubskii—Prince Mstislav Iur'evich, Prince Vasil'ko Iur'evich and Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich— with their mother and their children, went to Constantinople to Emperor Manuel. Emperor Manuel received them with joy and assigned them some cities.

The same year Prince Vladimir Mstislavich was driven out of Lutsk.[13] His brother, Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich, Grand Prince of Kiev, assigned him Trepol'e and four other towns.

The same year Grand Prince Vladimir Sviatoslavich of Riazan'[14] passed away.

The same year Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich [of Volynia] decorated the holy church in Vladimir in Volynia with frescoes and embellished it with beautiful, holy and expensive icons, with books, with many other beautiful objects, with sacred golden and silver vessels adorned with pearls and expensive gems.

[NOVGOROD AGAIN CHANGES PRINCES]

The same year the Novgorodians drove out of their city of Novgorod their Prince Mstislav, son of Rostislav, [of Smolensk] grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, great-great grandson of Vsevolod, great-great-great grandson of Iaroslav, and great-great-great-great grandson of Great Vladimir. Then the grand prince of Kiev, Rostislav, son of Msitslav and grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gave the Novgorodians his son, Sviatoslav, according to their desire, to be prince in Novgorod [See the 6667 year (1159)].

13. In *Nik. Patr.* incorrectly Slutsk, in other Mss: Lutsk.

14. Grandson of Iaroslav Sviatoslavich, who was the grandson of Iaroslav the Wise.

1160

[FEUDS IN VOLYNIA]

The same year Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich [of Vladimir in Volynia] marched with a host against Prince Andrei Vladimirich to the city of Peresopnitsa, and Prince Andrei sent to him, saying the following:

My beloved brother! If you want my domain, then I will leave my city and all my dominion and all my possessions and all my wealth, and all this I will leave to you, and I will depart with my wife and my children, taking with me just a little for my and my childrens' necessities. And I have decided rather to live as a pauper in foreign lands than to spill blood in an evil and sinful manner, because of these fleeting and vain possessions. The Lord said, "What is the use to a man to acquire the whole world but to lose his own soul?" [Matt. 16:26]

Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich was astounded by the latter's wisdom, and sent him many gifts, asking him to return to his own domain and forgive him his bold action. And so they remained in great friendship and returned to their own places.

[BOGOLIUBSKII'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE BULGARS]

The same year Prince Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii, son of Dolgorukii, together with his brother, Iaroslav Iur'evich, also a son of Dolgorukii, and with his son, Iziaslav, and with Prince Iurii of Murom, campaigned against Bulgars of the Volga and Kama; and Lord God and the Most Pure Theotokos helped them and they killed many Ishmaelites, so that their prince barely escaped with difficulty with a small retinue. They marched forward and occupied the glorious city of Briakhimov on the river Kama, and burned their other cities. It was the second miracle of the Most Pure Theotokos, Whose icon was carried by two priests in vestments, and the lifegiving cross was also carried by priests in vestments, as well as the deacons in their vestments. This icon of the Most Pure Theotokos was brought to Kiev from Constantinople to Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii, having been taken by the pious Prince Andrei from his father, Grand Prince of Kiev Iurii Dolgorukii and brought and placed in his church with the gilded cupola in the city of Vladimir.

[NEW CHURCHES AND ECCLESIASTIC EVENTS IN SUZDALIA] **1161**

In the year 6669 [1161]. They started painting frescoes in the church of the Assumption of the Most Pure Theotokos, with the golden cupola; and they finished it on the thirtieth day of the month of August. The same year Theodore [a Greek, the new] metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, arranged peace between Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Kiev and Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich of Chernigov,[15] as well as with Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich and the latter's children. They all remained in peace, friendship, concord and unity after confirming the agreement with a pledge on the cross.

In the year 6670 [1162].[16]

Nearly the entire city of Rostov burned, including the holy cathedral church of the Assumption of the Most Pure Theotokos, which was built by Bishop Hilarion, who was there before the bishop and miraclemaker Leontius of Rostov. It was constructed of oak wood and was marvelously beautiful, and very wonderful; and such was never before and we know not whether there ever will be such a one. Grand Prince of Rostov and Suzdal' Andrei, son of Iurii Dolgorukii, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, ordered that a new stone church be built dedicated to the Assumption of the Holy Theotokos in the place of the burned church. They started digging the foundation and discovered there the body of the blessed Isaiah, the bishop and miraclemaker of Rostov. Then they dug toward the front wall and discovered a casket covered with two boards. They opened it and found therein the body of Leontius, bishop and miraclemaker of Rostov. It was not in the least decayed but was whole, and from it emanated fragrance, and the vestments were as though newly donned; and Grand Prince Andrei with all the people of the city of Rostov rejoiced. When, after a certain time they completed the stone church in the city of Rostov which was built in place of the burned city on the order of the pious lord, Prince Andrei Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, they placed in its wall the relics of the blessed miraclemaker, Bishop Leontius of Rostov, where they remain up to now; and they placed very large candles before his grave.

15. Sviatoslav was the son of the well known Oleg Sviatoslavich of Chernigov, who was a grandson of Iaroslav the Wise.

16. The year 6672 (1164), according to *Laur.*

1162 John, Bishop of Rostov, with the blessing of Theodore, metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, established on the twenty third day of the month of May a holiday to commemorate St. Leontius, bishop and miraclemaker of Rostov. And some time after they established the holiday in honor of the saint, there were many miracles; once during vespers in the fouth hour of the night a sexton dreamed that he was in the church of the Most Pure Theotokos and angels appeared who began to sing, and the angels burned candles at the grave of the saint. Then he dreamed that St. Leontius arose from his grave, took the thurible and frankincense and began censing with the thurible, and a fragrance spread through the entire church and the whole city of Rostov. When the sexton arose from his sleep he hurried to the church doors and tried to open them, but in the church he saw much light and heard the song of angels, and he saw St. Leontius standing and praying with upraised arms. The sexton was unable to even stand from his awe and he trembled and fell to the earth, and only after a long while raised his eyes—and then he saw nothing, only that the candles were burning. Then he went rapidly and told all this to Bishop John, who went to the church, ordered that matins be celebrated, and from this light they lit all the other candles. After matins one of the clerics began to extinguish the candles at the saint's grave when an angel approached, touched him and asked, "How dare you do this?" And the cleric grew weak in his hands and feet, and became deaf and dumb, so he was unable to move at all; but in the depths of his heart he prayed meekly to Lord God, to the Most Pure Theotokos and to the blessed bishop and miraclemaker Leontius. During the liturgy, Bishop John ordered that he be brought into the church and placed near the grave of the saint. Then he ordered him to pray, confessing all his sins, and with meek heart to ask for forgiveness. And he confessed all his sins, beginning with the time when he issued out of his mother's womb. And when the deacons began to read the Holy Gospel he heard a voice saying, "Man! All your sins are forgiven!" And at once he recovered and bowed to Lord God and to the Most Pure Theotokos and to the miraclemaker Leontius, and he went joyfully and merrily to his home, praising God, the Most Pure Theotokos and the saint miraclemaker Leontius[17]

17. In the year 6669 (1161), in *Novg. Syn.*

1163 The same year there was very dry weather and there was great heat and great drought during the entire summer; and all the rye and grain were burned, and the lake and river dried out, and the marshes burned and the woods and earth burned.[18]

The same summer there was a great flood in the principality of Galich, and with God's permission there was much rain. Unexpectedly, one day and one night the river Dnestr flooded the marshes and the water covered the valley as far as the Bokovo swamp, and over 300 people drowned because they were coming with salt from Udechevo. Many people were taken from trees and poles, whither they were carried by the water, and many fields were flooded. In winter the price of grain was very high.[19]

And the same fall there were extremely great freezes but the winter was warm and there were many rains, much lightning and terrifying thunder, and a multitude of people were killed. And the price of a barrel of rye was one ruble and forty altyns, and among the people there was great grief and sadness and unending weeping.

The year 6671 [1163]. The church on the Golden Gates of the city of Vladimir was consecrated.

The same year his holiness Theodore, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, passed away.

The same year Arcadius, Bishop of Novgorod, passed away on the nineteenth of September and was buried in a chapel at the entrance of the cathedral of Holy Sophia in Novgorod.

In the year 6672 [1164].[20]

Prince Iziaslav, son of Grand Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, and gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, passed away and was buried in the church of the Most Pure Theotokos in the city of Vladimir on the 28th day of the month of September.

The same year there came from the Patriarch of Constantinople John [the Fourth] politan of Kiev and all Russia; and to meet him the bishop went from the city of Kiev with the entire Holy Council, with princes, boiars and all the people, and with

18. In the year 6672 (1164), in *Novg. Syn.*
19. In the year 6669 (1161), *op. cit.*
20. In the year 6673 (1165), according to *Laur.*

1165 Grand Prince Rostislav, son of Mstislav, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, great grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir. And he was received by them with joy and honor.

The same year[21] *Kyr*[22] Andronicus Comnenus, brother of Emperor Manuel, escaped from Constantinople to Galich to Grand Prince Iaroslav Vladimirkovich [Osmomysl] of Galich; he was received with honor by Grand Prince Iaroslav Vladimirkovich and the latter gave him towns and districts. Thereafter Emperor Manuel sent two bishops for him, asking him to return. And Grand Prince Iaroslav Vladimirkovich of Galich let him go with great honor and sent with him Bishop Cosmas, his boiars and his leading voevodas. And so they accompanied him with great honor.

The same year Swedes came in sixty boats to Ladoga in the Novgorodian land; but Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, with posadnik Zakhariia defeated them on the river Vorona; and some were killed and some were taken prisoner, and this happened on the twenty eighth day of the month of May.

In the year 6673 [1165].[23] Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ol'govich, grandson of Sviatoslav, great grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, passed away in Chernigov. And after him Sviatoslav Vsevolodich ascended to the throne of the grand principality of Chernigov; he was grandson of Oleg, great grandson of Sviatoslav, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, and gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir.

Oleg, son of Sviatoslav, grandson of Oleg, great grandson of Sviatoslav, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, became prince of Novgorod.

The same year the Polovetss marched into Russia, and in order to beat them the Russian princes gathered deep in the prairie, and there was a great battle between them, and God helped the Russian princes and theirs was the victory. Some of the Polovetss were killed, some were scattered in the prairie and escaped. The Russian princes joyfully thanked God and the Most Pure Theotokos for this victory over the infidels, and lamented

21. In the year 6675 (1167), according to *Laur.*
22. *Kyr:* Greek, "lord."
23. In the year 6672 (1164), according to *Laur.* and *Voskr.*

their own people who had been killed because only a few of them returned home, for all of those were killed. **1166**

The same year[24] John [the Fourth] metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, elevated Elias bishop of Novgorod.

The same year the Novgorodians built in Shatinets the church of the Holy Trinity. And the same year Prince Sviatoslav Rostislavich built the church of St. Nicholas in the inner city.

In the year 6674 [1166]. Bishop Elias of Novgorod sent many gifts to Kiev to his holiness John, metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia.

ELIAS, THE FIRST ARCHBISHOP OF NOVGOROD

The same year Elias, Bishop of Novgorod, went to Kiev to the metropolitan. Together with him was Abbot Dionysius and the posadnik, and they all went very honorably accompanied. Metropolitan John of Kiev and all Russia received him very fairly and ordered him to call himself "archbishop;" and since then with the blessing of John, metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, the bishop of Novgorod began to be called "lord archbishop of Novgorod." And the metropolitan came and gave him vestments and surplice, and there was great joy in Novgorod; and to John, metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, they gave many gifts: gold, silver and pearls and all manner of silk and all manner of furs and many other gifts which were in exceeding number.

The same year the pious and Christ-loving Prince Iaroslav, son of Iurii Dolgorukii, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, passed away and on the twelfth day of the month of April he was buried in the church of the Holy Theotokos in Vladimir.

The same year Prince Sviatoslav Vladimirovich, grandson of Davyd Iziaslavich, passed away.

The same year the Polovetss raided Russia and behind the city of Pereiaslavl' killed two bogatyrs, Andrei Zhiroslavich and his brother, Shvarn. They captured the son of their sister, also called Shvarn; and they captured a great many Christians and they went back. [Shvarn and Zhiroslav are mentioned in *Hyp.* in several entries].

The same year John, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, passed away.

24. In the year 6674 (1166), according to *Hyp.*

1167 [GRAND PRINCE MSTISLAV IZIASLAVICH OF KIEV]

In the year 6675 [1167].[25] On the twenty-first day of the month of March, when the holy bishop and confessor, Jacob, is remembered, on the way from Smolensk, the pious and Christ-loving Grand Prince of Kiev, Rostislav, son of Mstislav, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, great grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, and gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, passed away. He was on the throne of the grand principality of Kiev for nine years, and his body was taken to Kiev. His sons were Sviatoslav, Davyd and Roman. After him, [in the year 6675 (1167) in *Novg. Syn.*] his nephew, Mstislav, [of Volynia] the son of his brother, ascended to the throne of the grand principality of Kiev. He was the son of Iziaslav, grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, and gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir. Thereafter he went to meet his uncle, Prince Vladimir Mstislavich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, who was in Vyshgorod, and Prince Riurik Rostislavich of Smolensk.

They all gave, one to the other, a pledge on the cross, and returned to their places; but then Prince Vladimir Mstislavich with his boiars began to discuss [how to fight] Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, and this discussion became known to the latter, who exposed him and requested from him a pledge on the saintly cross.

The same year, however, the Polovetss of Chagar-Khan[26] contacted Prince Vladimir Mstislavich, telling him, "We will accept you." He rejoiced greatly, forgot his pledge on the cross, and sent Raguil, Mikhail and Radil[27] to the boiars of Kiev, announcing them his intention. And they said, "Oh, Prince! What manner of idea did you have? You behave as a child. We have never thought of this and we do not want to conspire with you." And he became still prouder in his childish behavior and went to the Berendeis. The latter told him, "You ordered us to come, saying, 'I am with the brothers.' But where are your brothers, Vladimir, Iaroslav and Davyd? You come alone and you want to deceive us as if we were infants." And they shot arrows at him. He fled, saying, "For the

25. In the year 6674 (1166), according to *Novg., Syn.*

26. Chagrovich—in *Hyp.*, Tiagarove in *Nik.* Turkic requires full vocalism: thus, Chagar Khan.

27. These names have been corrected according to *Hyp.*

sake of God, one should not trust pagans! I did so with my simple mind and therefore I perish in soul and body." **1167**

The Berendeis slew some of his retinue and captured others, but he escaped to Dorogobuzh, where his princess was supposed to be; but she had escaped to Vladimir Andreevich. The latter, however, did not admit him and he went to Suzdal', to the Radimichs. Then Prince Andrei Iur'evich [Bogoliubskii] sent to him, saying, "Go to Prince Gleb Rostislavich in Riazan'," and he went to Riazan', leaving his wife and children in the castle of Glukhov.

The same year Metropolitan Constantine of Kiev and all Russia came from the Patriarch of Constantinople, and he was met by Mstislav Iziaslavich, Grand Prince of Kiev, by the boiars and the people. And so he entered the city of Kiev and went to church and rendered prayers and thanks to Lord God and the Most Pure Theotokos.

[NOVGORODIANS DISSATISFIED WITH PRINCE SVIATOSLAV ROSTISLAVICH]

The same year[28] the Novgorodians summoned a council and met in *veche*, and they conspired to arrest their lord, Prince Sviatoslav Rostislavich; but he learned of this and at night he escaped to Luki. The Novgorodians became enraged and wrathful and marched to pursue him from Luki. When he received tidings of this he fled to Toropets, from whence he went to the Volga. Prince Andrei Iur'evich [Bogoliubskii], son of Dolgorukii, sent his troops to aid him and they burned the Novgorodian city of Novyi Torg. The people of Novyi Torg fled to Novgorod and these [Andrei's troops] caused the Novgorodians much evil, devastating their districts and their towns. In the meantime, [Sviatoslav's] brother, Prince Roman Rostislavich, and Prince Mstislav burned Luki, and the people of Luki fled, some to Novgorod and some to Pskov. The same year the Novgorodians sent to Kiev to Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich,[29] asking him to send his son to be prince in Novgorod.

The same year[30] Prince Andrei Iur'evich [Bogoliubskii]

28. In *Hyp.*, the year 6677 (1169).

29. Must be: Mstislav Iziaslavich.

30. In *Vozn.*, in 6677 (1169).

1168 entered into alliance with the people of Smolensk and Polotsk against the Novgorodians and they cut off the highways thence, and captured their envoys and their merchants so that they were unable to dispatch tidings to Grand Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich of Kiev. Then Prince Sviatoslav, son of Rostislav, grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav and gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, camped with his forces and sent a message to the people of Novgorod, flattering them and attempting to win them because he wanted to be their prince; and he made secret contact with their posadnik, Zakhariia. This Zakhariia loved Sviatoslav Rostislavich and aided him secretly from the Novgorodians. Sviatoslav Rostislavich told the Novgorodians the following: "You will not have any other prince than I, Prince Sviatoslav Rostislavich!" The Novgorodians not only did not want to see him but they did not want even to hear his words, and they conspired and killed their posadnik, Zakhariia Iakovlevich, as well as the heralds, Nerevin and Nezda, who were supporters of Prince Sviatoslav Rostislavich. They [the Novgorodians] opened a route to Viachko and Volodar', and then Dan'slav Lazutich marched with a troop to Kiev to Grand Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich, asking him to send his son to be prince in Novgorod.

The same year Prince Sviatoslav Rostislavich, grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, together with his brothers and with the levies of Smolensk, Polotsk and Suzdal', marched toward Rusa. The Novgorodians assembled under Iakov Stanislavich and advanced against them; but they, not awaiting the arrival of the Novgorodian troops, returned home, having caused much damage to the people of Rusa.

[MSTISLAV OF KIEV CAMPAIGNS AGAINST POLOVETSS]

In the year 6676 [1168].[31] Grand Prince of Kiev Mstislav Iziaslavich marched against the Polovetss together with his brothers, Iaroslav Iziaslavich and Iaropolk Iziaslavich; and with them marched Prince Riurik Rostislavich [of Ovruch in Volynia] and the host of his brother, Davyd, although Prince Davyd, himself, was unwell; there were also with them Prince Gleb Iur'evich and his brother, Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich of Pereiaslavl'; Prince

31. In *Sof.* V, the year 6675 (1167); in *Voz.*, the year 6677 (1169).

Sviatopolk Iur'evich, grandson of Briacheslav, great grandson of **1168**
Sviatopolk Iziaslavich; the princes of Chernigov—Sviatoslav Vse-
volodich and his brother, Iaroslav; and Prince Oleg Sviatoslavich,
grandson of Oleg Iziaslavich; and his brother Prince Vsevolod.
During their march Prince Mstislav Vsevolodkovich, grandson of
Mstislav, passed away. They came to a [Polovetsian] encampment
on the river Ugra and occupied the camp and a train, chasing them
toward the Black Forest, and they slew many of them and cap-
tured many others; and so they took an endless number of cap-
tives. In this way all the warriors received a surfeit of bounty, and
they returned home.

[PRINCES' CONSPIRACY AGAINST MSTISLAV OF KIEV]

At that time Satan put hatred into the hearts of the Russian princes for Grand Prince Msitislav Iziaslavich of Kiev because, secretly from them, he had sent his troops forward and obtained much bounty from the Polovetss; therefore, their hearts were not inclined toward him. Besides that, there conspiring the evil and accursed boiars, Petr Borislavich, Nestor Zhidislavich and Iakov Digenevich, whom Grand Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich of Kiev had sent away because they and their soldiers did not obey the command. These boiars and evil people became inspired by demons and spread lies regarding Grand Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich of Kiev. They told the following to Prince Davyd Rostislavich [of Smolensk] grandson of Mstislav [the Great, Grand Prince of Kiev], great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh: "Grand Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich of Kiev wants to arrest you." And he repeated it to his brother, Prince Rurik Rostislavich [later Grand Prince of Kiev], and therefore both of them became filled with confusion and hatred. Prince Vladimir Andreevich [of Dorogobuzh in Volynia], grandson of Monomakh, began to provoke and petition Grand Prince Mstislav for more domains, but the latter did not give him any. Then Grand Prince Vladimir Andreevich became wroth with him, went back to Dorogobuzh and began to conspire with Prince Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii. Thus, great confusion arose in the land.

[ROMAN MSTISLAVICH BECOMES PRINCE OF NOVGOROD]

1168 The same year[32] Grand Prince of Kiev Mstislav Iziaslavich sent his son, Prince Roman, to rule in Novgorod because the Novgorodians did not accept Prince Sviatoslav Rostislavich [of the Smolensk line], grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh. The latter's brothers, Prince Davyd Rostislavich and Prince Roman Rostislavich, as well as Prince Andrei Iur'evich [Bogoliubskii], son of Dolgorukii, wanted him to rule Novgorod by force and therefore further antagonism was added to earlier enmity, and grave discord arose. The princes undertook an alliance against Grand Prince Mstitslav Iziaslavich of Kiev, and took and oath on the saintly and lifegiving cross to stand united. However, Prince Roman Mstislavich [son of the Grand Prince of Kiev] grandson of Iziaslav, great grandson of Mstislav, great-great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, great-great-great grandson of Vsevolod, great-great-great-great grandson of Iaroslav, and great-great-great-great-great grandson of Great Vladimir, came to Novgorod to rule there on the fourteenth day of the month of April when our holy father and confessor, Martin the Confessor, Pope of Rome, is commemorated. The Novgorodians were very happy that his happened according to their desire. The same year the Novgorodians campaigned with their prince, Roman Mstislavich, against Polotsk and caused much evil there; then they retreated back thirty versts from the city. The same year the Novgorodians again campaigned under Prince Roman Mstislavich and their hosts marched to Toropets; they burned towns and districts and took many captives, and returned home. Again, the same year Grand Prince of Kiev, Mstislav Iziaslavich, grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Monomakh, chased from Kiev his uncle, Prince Vladimir Mstislavich; the latter went to the Polovetss, while Mstislav remained on the throne of Kiev.

[CONTROVERSY ABOUT FASTING]

The same year Constantine, metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, incarcerated Polycarp, abbot of the monastery of the Caves, because of the latter's attitude toward fasting on the Lord's holidays, and instructed him not to eat butter, cheese, eggs or milk on the Lord's holidays when they fall on Wednesday and

32. In *Vozn.*, the year 6677 (1169).

Friday. These holidays are the Nativity of the Most Pure **1169**
Theotokos, Presentation of the Virgin, Presentation of the Lord, Dormition of the Virgin, Transfiguration of the Lord, the days of the Nativity and the Beheading of John, holy Prophet Precursor and Baptiser of the Lord, the day of commemoration of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, the day of commemoration of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist St. John the Theologian, and the days of commemoration of the great martyrs George and Demetrius and other great martyrs. Following the rule of the Apostles, one also should abstain from eating butter, cheese, eggs and milk even on all Wednesdays and Fridays between Easter Week and Pentecost; but he permitted the eating of vegetable oil and fish when we sing the *troparia*[33] for the Crucifixion of the Lord, when we celebrate Sunday, and when we joyously and happily celebrate the Resurrection of Christ. Metropolitan Constantine was supported by Anthony, bishop of Chernigov, and Theodore, bishop of Pereiaslavl'. Anthony, bishop of Chernigov, strongly reprimanded his prince of Chernigov and his boiars, urging them not to eat meat on the Lord's holidays [when they fall on Wednesday and Friday]. Prince Sviatoslav and the boiars did not heed this reprimand and when Bishop Anthony scolded them still more strongly, then the prince of Chernigov, Sviatoslav Ol'govich, objected to his bishop's reprimands and expelled the latter from the city of Chernigov, as well as from his entire principality. Then the bishop went with his people to Constantine, metropolitan of Kiev, were he remained.

[FIGHTING WITH THE POLOVETSS]

The same year the Polovetss campaigned in Russia and Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich of Kiev marched against them. The two armies clashed and a fierce and wicked battle ensued. On both sides many fell dead, and at the end Mstislav Iziaslavich, Grand Prince of Kiev, overcame the enemy and returned victoriously to Kiev.

The same year the Polovetsian Khan Aidar came to Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich in Kiev to serve him, and after being there a short time he was baptised there in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

In the year 6677 [1169]. The Polovetss assembled a large host and raided as far as the town of Plon [in Volynia], a "tithe estate"

33. Chants celebrating a church event or holiday.

1170 of the Most Pure Theotokos which had been given by the great, holy and blessed Prince Vladimir to the Most Pure Theotokos and Her Most Holy Church.[34] When the barbarians reached it, some of them lost their wits and others became blind, while others became weak. Then the Christians assembled and slew some, and captured others. Among those captured, many became baptised in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and several of them even received the mystical and angelic tonsure and led a severely ascetic life. Such was the miracle performed by Lord God and His Most Pure Mother. Then the most blessed Constantine, metropolitan of Kiev, together with his pious and Christ-loving spiritual son, Grand Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich of Kiev, joyously chanted the hymn which is sung on the occasion of the exodus of Israel: "We sing to the Lord, who was Gloriously Exalted." And then they celebrated the thanksgiving service to Lord God and His Most Pure Mother Theotokos. They distributed large alms to poor paupers and pilgrims and they both celebrated and glorified Lord God and His Most Pure Mother Theotckos with joy, humility and spiritual love.

The same year there was an abundance of all fruits.

The same year envoys came from the Pope of Rome.

[A COALITION OF PRINCES, MSTISLAV'S ENEMIES, STORMS AND SACKS KIEV]

In the year 6678 [1170]. There were terrifying portents in the skies, on the sun, moon and stars. This same year there was an earthquake and the same year there were terrifyingly strong thunderstorms which killed many people.

This very year[35] Grand Prince Andrei Iur'evich [Bogoliubskii, of Vladimir and Suzdal'], son of Dolgorukii, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, began to assemble an army to fight Grand Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich of Kiev. He was joined by many princes who entered into alliance with him and who were of the same mind. These were the princes of Murom; Prince Roman Rostislavich [of

34. This church of the Most Pure Theotokos in Kiev, built by Prince Vladimir, was called the "Tithe Church" because the Prince gave it an endowment of a tenth of his estates and income. Plon was such an estate.

35. In the year 6676 (1168) in *Laur.*, but 6677 (1169) in *Vozn.* and 6679 (1171) in *Hyp.*

Smolensk], who was the grandson of Mstislav and gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh; Prince Davyd and Mstislav [of Vyshgorod]; Prince Vladimir Andreevich [of Dorogobuzh]; Prince Gleb Iur'evich of Pereiaslavl' and his brother, Vsevolod [later known as "Great Nest"], sons of Dolgorukii; Prince Riurik [Rostislavich of Smolensk] with his brother, Mstislav; Prince Iurii and Dmitrii and Mstislav; Oleg Sviatoslavich of Chernigov [actually, Seversk] with his brother, Igor'; Prince Mstislav Rostislavich, grandson of Dolgorukii, gr. grandson of Monomakh; and many other princes. With them there also marched the Polovetsian khans with Polovetss, the Hungarians, Czechs, Poles and Lithuanians; and all this tremendous multitude of warriors marched together toward Kiev. Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii, himself, did not participate in this campaign but in his stead he sent his son, Mstislav. They came to Kiev, besieged the city, and the troops marched; and there was much heated fighting.[36] In the meantime the accursed boiars of Kiev, Petr Borislavich, Nestor Zhiroslavich and Iakov Digenevich, organized a conspiracy and secretly contacted Prince Mstislav Andreevich, [the son of Bogoliubskii] and other princes, for the purpose of surrendering Kiev to them. Kievan troops, however, made sallies from the city and killed many warriors; and so the others besieged the city with a numberless host for three weeks and there was much evil; and all this happened because of evil people and these accursed boiars. Thereupon Petr Borislavich, Nestor Zhiroslavich, Iakov Digenevich, and many wicked people with them, and demoniacal counsellors, secretly contacted Prince Gleb Iur'evich of Periaslavl', Prince Roman of Smolensk with Prince Davyd of Vyshgorod and prince Mstislav Andreevich, son of Bogoliubskii [of Suzdal'], telling them, "You have stoutly stormed the best fortified walls of the city." Then they showed them a place in the city fortress and pointed out a weakly fortified spot in the walls, saying, "When you storm the best fortified part of the fortress, then all our burghers will run thither to be prepared to fight against you on those best fortified places, while the weakly fortified walls will not be guarded. Then, by diverting them [to the best fortified places] you can easily take the city." So the besieged warriors began to withdraw from the weakly fortified walls of the city, **1170**

36. In the year 6679 (1171) in *Hyp.*; 6676 (1168) in *Laur.*

1170 leaving there only a few weak men of arms, and they all hurried to the strong parts of the fortress. And the burghers also marched toward the strong spots of the fortress, leaving the weaker walls unguarded. Since these burghers were not caring for [the weak parts of] the walls, the besieging soldiers made a clever maneuver and unexpectedly stormed the weak walls of the fortress;[37] and they took the city of Kiev on the eighth day of the month of March. Grand Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich with his brother and a small retinue escaped from the city to the city of Vladimir in Volynia, but his princess and his son were taken prisoners.

As he escaped, the clan of Bastii[38] caught up with him and shot at him and captured most of his retinue, so he left the camp, which was on the river Unovia, and, together with his brother, Iaroslav, went to the city of Vladimir in Volynia. Kiev was taken on the eighth day of March: Wednesday of the second week of Lent. They sacked the city for two days: they sacked Podol, the Mountain, the Monastery and the cathedral of St. Sophia, and the church of the Tithes of the Theotokos, and no mercy was shown to anyone. They took a great amount of wealth and from the churches they took the icons, books, vestments and bells. Everyone was captured and all the sacred objects were plundered; and there were in Kiev only sighs of grief inconsolable, sadness and endless tears.[39]

[THE REIGN IN KIEV OF GLEB IUR'EVICH, GRANDSON OF VLADIMIR MONOMAKH]

Mstislav Andreevich took Kiev, sacked it, left there his uncle, Gleb Iur'evich son of Dolgorukii, as prince, and he, himself, returned to his father in Suzdal'; and so everyone returned to his own place.[40] And so to the grand principality of Kiev ascended Prince Gleb of Pereiaslavl', son of Iurii Dolgorukii, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, great grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, and gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir. And he gave the principality of Pereiaslavl' to his son, Vladimir.

37. These details are in neither *Laur.* nor *Hyp.*

38. In *Hyp.*, the Bastii are called Kouii (a nomadic Turkic clan).

39. Details from *Hyp.*, *Laur.* and unknown sources.

40. In the year 6677 (1169), according to *Laur.*; in 6679 (1171), according to *Hyp.*

The same year a large number of Polovetss raided Russia and caused much evil to the Christians; but the Russian princes were unable to withstand them because they were involved in fratricidal feuds, and many warriors were killed; and so there was much evil from the accursed Polovets. **1171**

[THE AFFAIR OF FEODORETS]

The same year monk [sic!] Theodore [Feodorets], son of the sister of Petr Borislavich, went to Constantinople, taking vast wealth with him. He lied to the patriarch, saying, "As there is no more a metropolitan in Kiev, please appoint me." Although the patriarch did not accept his word, he continued to importune the patriarch, "Since there is no longer a metropolitan in Russia, and there is no one who can be consecrated bishop there, consecrate me bishop of Rostov." And so monk Theodore was consecrated bishop of Rostov. This Theodore had received the holy monastic orders in Kiev in the Cave monastery. He was extremely bold and shameless and he would not demur in the presence either of a prince or of a boiar. But was also very strong in body, spoke persuasively and his speeches we eloquent. His wisdom, however, was wicked and everyone was afraid and trembled before him. No one could withstand him. Some said that he was sent by the demon and others, that he was a magician.[41]

In the year 6679 [1171]. Theodore [Feodorets] returned [from Constantinople] to Rostov, to Russia, to be bishop there, and when he came to the city of Rostov he ascended to the see there. But Grand Prince Andrei Iur'evich [Bogoliubskii] did not want to give him ear and told him to go to Kiev to Metropolitan Constantine of Kiev and all Russia, but he did not want, as it is written, "He did not want the blessing and he went away from it. And when a man is allowed to come to the moat of perdition, then, first of all, he is deprived of mind and humble wisdom." Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii diligently and with love tried to persuade him to go to Kiev to the metropolitan, but he did not want to receive consecration from the metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia and he did

41. This "monk" Theodore-Feodorets, was nominated acting bishop of Vladimir; and never was consecreated bishop: he was not a monk, but was a married priest. See the footnote in the entry under the year 6668 (1160).

1171 not want to be blessed by him, and he claimed, "I was not consecrated by the metropolitan but by the Patriarch in Constatinpole, and I was consecrated and blessed to be bishop in Rostov and the other cities of the diocese by the Oecumenical Patriarch; therefore, why should I seek any other investiture or blessing?" And so he remained carefree in the episcopal see of Rostov. Grand Prince Andrei Iur'evich gave him much good advice, but he did not heed him—only scolded him and expressed his displeasure. He closed all the churches in the city of Vladimir, and there were no church services in the entire city of Vladimir or even in the Cathedral of the Most Pure Theotokos, with the golden cupolas, in which there was the Miraculous Icon of the Most Pure Theotokos. And he also closed the churches in many other cities and towns so that there was no church service there. Then they started searching there for rich treasures and he appropriated them. He even tortured many princes and boiars and appropriated their possessions. Thereafter he was told that the prince's chamberlain was very rich, and he ordered that he be brought; but that one did not want to obey him so he ordered that he be tortured, and he seized many of his possessions. But his chamberlain did not tolerate this. He told offensive words to Bishop [sic!] Theodore [Feodroets] and therefore the latter ordered that he be crucified upside down. And he threw many into prison, and others he tortured, appropriating their possessions; and of some he burned their heads, beard and eyes with candles; others, he cut away their hands and feet; others, their tongues, noses, ears and lips; and some were nailed to the walls and to boards. And some were slashed to pieces on the floor. And rich women were tortured by him, and those who would not obey him were boiled in kettles. And he was terrifying and dreadful toward everyone, and all feared him and trembled, and the sound of his voice was like that of a lion; but he looked majestic as an oak, strong and powerful, as if it were from the devil. And his tongue was very fast and amazingly eloquent, and he was so emboldened and shameless that he feared no one. He would attack any and all without hesitation, and would torture without mercy.

The same year[42] the people who were offended and grieved

42. In the year 6677 (1169), according to *Novg.* IV; in the year 6678 (1170) in *Vozn.*; in the year 6680 (1172) in *Hyp.*

by his [Theodore's—Feodorets's] attitude met with Grand Prince Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii to tell him, weeping, of their misfortunes and the calamities which had befallen them. Then he sent for Bishop [sic!] Theodore, saying, "Oh! The people grieve and weep! Can you not put an end to your wrath and be meek and merciful? You have closed all your churches and there are no services in them, and you have even locked up the Miraculous Icon of the Most Pure Theotokos!" But he not only attacked the prince with profanity and reproaches but even spoke blasphemy concerning the Theotokos. **1171**

[THE DEATH OF FEODORETS]

And so Grand Prince Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii ordered that he [Theodore] be arrested and sent to Kiev to His Holiness Constantine, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia. The Metropolitan ordered that the wickedness done by him be investigated, but he became obsessed with pride and spoke indecencies, criticized Divine Law and spoke blasphemously of Lord God and the Most Pure Theotokos. Metropolitan Constantine sent to him, saying, "From the beginning of this age unrepentant blasphemers have been beaten. According to the law of Moses, not only blasphemers but also those who perform wickedness can be killed. And according to the New Law [the Gospel], blasphemers were executed by the Holy Apostles and the Holy Fathers. And since you do not repent, you should accept death. Spoke the Lord, 'Woe to the man who is tempted, and whosoever tempts a child who believes in me should be punished severely and a millstone should be hung about his neck and he should be sunk in the depth of the sea.' [Matt. 18:6 paraphrased] Heed this and repent." but he became still more angry, and spoke indecently and blasphemously, and so he remained unrepentant for the whole year. Then the Metropolitan sent to him, saying, "You uttered blasphemy before God, before the Most Pure Theotokos, and before all the saints; and you corrupted Divine Law and you tormented a multitude of people. The Lord's Testament says, 'In the same way as he judges, you should judge him; and in the same way as he takes a measure, so should he be measured, himself; and one who judges without mercy will receive no mercy.'" [Matt. 7:2] And he ordered that the latter's tongue be cut out, as is done to a criminal and

1171 heretic; to cut off his right hand; and to take out his eyes; and to attach to his neck a millstone and to throw him into the sea.[43] And so his life came to an end by death according to the Gospel's justice, which says, "Whosoever tempts a child who believes in Me should be punished severely and a millstone should be hung about his neck, and he should be sunk in the depth of the sea." [Matt. 18:6 paraphrased].

The same year the Polovetsian khans came to Russia with a multitude of warriors capturing many Christians, and returned home.

[NOVGORODIAN-SUZDALIAN CONFLICT AND THE MIRACLE OF NOVGOROD]

The same year the Novgorodians campaigned against the Chud' and defeated them and returned home with captives and with great booty. The same year[44] Danislav Lazutinich marched from Novgorod toward the Dvina river to collect the tribute, according to the Novgorodian custom. And there were five hundred men with him. On Belo Ozero they encountered the people from Suzdal' and Riazan', and there were seven thousand and three hundred of them. They fought, and one thousand and three hundred Suzdalians were killed. The Novgorodians, however, lost only fifteen men, and they levied tribute from the people beyond the portages, as well as another tribute from the people of Suzdal' and Riazan'.

And since this time Grand Prince Andrei [Bogoliubskii] has been wroth with Novgorod. He assembled a large host and sent his son, Mstislav, with the Suzdalian forces to Novgorod. With the latter were Princes Roman and Mstislav of Smolensk; the princes of Murom and Riazan'; and many other people, as well as the levies from Toropets and Polotsk; and nearly the entire Russian land came together, and in the hosts there were no less than seventy-two princes. At that time Prince Roman, son of Mstislav, grandson of Iziaslav, great grandson of Mstislav, gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, was prince of Novgorod. They [the allies] marched into the Novgorodian land, causing much evil; they

43. Blinding and cutting out the tongue were customary punishments in Byzantium, where Metropolitan Constantine came from.

44. In the year 6677 (1169), according to *Novg. III*.

occupied and burned towns, slew people and captured wives, **1171**
children, possessions and cattle. When they arrived at the city they saw that the Novgorodians had built fortifications around all Novgorod, and the Suzdalians with all their princes stormed it. There was much fighting, and the burghers fought fiercely from the city. For three days the envoys from both sides came together in order to end the fighting, but they did not succeed in promoting the cause of peace and friendship.

At that time John the Miraclemaker, who previously, as a layman, was called "Il'ia," was in the episcopal see in Great Novgorod. Because of his great virtues, His Holiness, Metropolitan John of Kiev and all Russia, honored him with the rank of archbishop, although thereto the heads of the Novgorodian church had been called only "bishop." The posadnik at that time was Andrei Iakunovich. This Archbishop John, together with Prince Roman Mstislavich, posadnik Andrei Iakunovich, and with a multitude of people, prayed in great grief to the Lord and Most Pure Theotokos, asking them for the salvation of their city. On the third day when His Holiness Bishop John was standing and praying before the icon of Our Lord Jesus Christ, he was seized by awe and heard voices addressing him: "Go to the church of the Savior in Il'ia Street and take the icon of the Holy Theotokos and place Her on the fortification opposite the enemies."

The archbishop, hearing this unusual voice, stayed the whole night without sleep, praying to the Holy Mother of God. On the morrow he summoned the council and told before all what he had heard, and altogether they glorified God. Then the archbishop sent his archdeacon, together with the clerics of Holy Sophia, and ordered that the holy icon of the Mother of God be brought into the cathedral. The archdeacon entered the church, bowed before the icon of the Holy Theotokos and wanted to take it but the icon would not move from its place, so the archdeacon went to the archbishop and related what had occurred. The archbishop, with the Sacred Council, went to the church of the Holy Savior, approached the icon of the Holy Theotokos and, kneeling, prayed, "Oh, Most Merciful Lady! Virgin Lady! Most Pure Theotokos! You are our Intercessor and Our Hope; You are the firm trust of our city, its protection, its cover and shelter for Christians! We rely upon you, Our lady, and all we sinners pray to Your Son and

1171 Our God. Do not deliver us to be shamed by those who fight against us. Listen to the wailing of your people and accept the prayers of Your servant and deliver us, Our Lady, and our city from our enemies and from all maner of evil."

Then they prayed and chanted the *te deum* and the canon of the Most Holy Theotokos. After the sixth chant when they started reciting the hymn to the Intercessor of the Christians, at that time the icon began to move. The people saw it and uttered tearfully, "God have mercy!" Archbishop John took the icon into his hands, gave it to two deacons, and they carried it before him. He went behind it with the entire Sacred Council chanting prayerful canons, and the people followed them. They brought the icon to the fortification where now the Monastery and the Church of the Holy Theotokos of the Tithe are located. The people of Novgorod were no longer able to stand behind the fortification, and they could only weep, seeing their peril, because the Suzdalians in the streets were dividing the city.[45] At the sixth hour of the day all the Russian regiments began storming and shooting arrows at the city. There were so many of them that it seemed as if it were raining. Then, thanks to Divine Providence, the icon turned toward the city and the bishop saw that this holy icon was shedding tears, and he wiped them with his surplice. Oh! What a great a most glorious miracle! How can tears come from dry wood? They were not tears, but it was the wetness of Grace. Because in this way the Most Holy Mother of God intercedes before Her Son and Our God on behalf of our city and on behalf of the people who relied upon Her Mercy.

In this way the Most Holy Theotokos witnessed her intercession on behalf of hopeless people and in this way Lord God became merciful because of the prayers of His Most Holy Mother toward His sinful people. And at the same time at once darkness encompassed the attackers and some of them were covered with something like ashes and they were seized by trembling and terror, and some of them became blinded. Then the Novgorodians sallied from the fortress and slew some of them, and others they captured, and the remaining escaped with difficulty. On their way home many [invading enemies] died of starvation, and some others, during the forty days of Great Lent, were obliged to eat

45. Probably, here is meant the internal dissension in Novgorod.

horse flesh, and with great difficulty returned home. And in this **1171**
manner, at that time God not only did not permit them to overcome the city but also they were stricken with Divine retribution. The people who lived around the city took a great many prisoners, and some of them were put to the sword, some were burned—both small and the old, men and women— and their possessions were sacked.

The Novgorodians, however, were not right when they forgot the mercy of the former grand princes, which permitted them to invite princes from among the children and grandchildren of the grand princes, and to ask them to rule over them. These Novgorodians in a lawless way broke away from this custom and started breaking their legal agreement with the prince, and they misbehaved toward their princes and would chase them away and shame them and sack them, and that is why God brought his punishment on them, humbling them at the hand of Grand Prince Andrei.[46]

And so on November twenty-seventh when the holy martyr Jacob the Persian is remembered, a holiday was established to remember the miracle of the Most Pure Theotokos because on that day the Most Pure Theotokos protected her city. Three years earlier in Novgorod there were portents in three Novgorodian churches: the Most Pure Theotokos wept and shed tears on three holy icons, foretelling misfortunes and troubles for the Novgorodians and their government. She tearfully prayed Her Son not to destroy them entirely, as happened to Sodom and Gomorrah, but to show them mercy, as it was shown to the Ninevites. According to St. David, great mercy was shown them and he said, "The Lord punished me to warn me but did not turn me over to death." These Novgorodians did much evil, trespassed their pledge on the cross both to themselves and to their prince, and they shed much blood through their murders; but finally they repented and were saved, as the Holy Prophet Isaiah says: "When you turn to God and sigh, then you will be saved." [Is. 30:15, paraphrased] And in another place [James 4:10 paraphrased]. Humility brings people from the abyss to the heavens, as it happened to the tax collector; but ambition and pride bring virtue from the

46. The last paragraph is obviously a later insertion which does not agree with the entire previous story.

1171 heights into hell. Humility is a great virtue. It creates all and it negates sin, and so it succeeds.

[THE MIRACLE OF KIEV]

The same year by the will of Lord God there was a miracle in the house of the Most Pure Theotokos in the Tithe Church in Kiev, which was built by the blessed prince, Great Vladimir, who christianized the entire Russian land and who gave a tithe from the entire Russian land to this great holy church. It was the Most Pure Theotokos Who performed this miracle, which was beyond what we deserve and beyond our hopes. Since Lord God does not permit common people to be offended, then also he would not permit holy and divine places to be offended. And, indeed, this miracle filled the minds of the powerful with awe and fear.

In the days of the pious and Christ-loving Grand Prince of Kiev, Gleb Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, a multitude of Polovetss came and divided their host into two; some went to Pereiaslavl' and camped at Pesochen; the other part of the Polovetss crossed to the other side of the Dnieper toward Kiev and camped at Korsun'.

Both hosts sent to Kiev to Grand Prince Gleb Iur'evich, saying, "God has assigned you in your patrimony, the Grand Principality of Kiev, in order to have an agreement with us according to your faith; and now we come to you to make an agreement of peace and friendship with you, according to our faith." Grand Prince Gleb Iur'evich told the Polovetsian envoys, "I will go, myself, to your khans for this agreement of peace and friendship." And so he mounted his horse and rode with his brother, Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich, but first he went to Pereiaslavl' to take care of that city; he did so because Prince Vladimir Glebovich of Pereiaslavl' was very young—he was only twelve years old. And then he [Gleb Iur'evich] sent to the Polovetss who were encamped at Korsun', saying, "Now I am going to the Polovetss who are camping at Pereiaslavl', in order to agree with them about peace and friendship. Wait for me until I agree with them about peace and friendship, and then I will come to you." And so he agreed on peace and friendship with the Polovetss who camped at Pereiaslavl' and let them go, giving them many gifts.. And they went to their places.

In the meantime Prince Gleb Iur'evich with his brother,

Prince Mikhalko, and with his troops, marched to the other **1171**
Polovetss who were camped at Korsun'; but these godless ones received the tidings that Grand Prince Gleb Iur'evich with his brother, Mikhalko Iur'evich had marched to Pereiaslavl', and therefore these godless ones began to raid the districts and towns and they came to the towns endowed to the Most Pure Theotokos—to Semyn' and to Polon'.[47] When they arrived in the suburb of the town of Semyn', which was endowed to the Mother of God, they marched to the holy church of the Transfiguration of the Lord and saw there that from the image of the Most Pure Theotokos on the icon, fiery flames were issuing forth which burned them. And in the same way it occurred at the city of Polon', which was likewise endowed to the Mother of God—there, also, they saw flames coming from Her Holy Image on the icon. These fiery flames issued forth from the icon and burned them, and some of them died at once, and some fled.

Grand Prince Gleb Iur'evich, who at that time was on the Perepetov field, heard about the raid of the Polovetss and wanted, himself, to march against them but he was prevented from doing so by the Berendeis, who told him, "Prince! You should march against them with a large host; but you have only a small troop. The Polovetss are very numerous. Send against them your brother, Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich. He should appear before those who are raiding in small groups, and then those, hearing of this, will take fright and flee. But you cannot fight them because they are very numerous and we are few."

So Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich went thither, taking precautions against the Polovetss, having one thousand and two hundred Berendeis and a hundred men of Pereiaslavl'. He encountered three hundred Polovetsian vanguard warriors sleeping as if dead, and he slew some and captured others, asking them, "How many are there of you, altogether?" They responded, "Seventeen thousand. The rest were burned by your God and they died." And they related all that had happened to them. Hearing of this great miracle of the Theotokos, Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich was seized with awe but rejoiced greatly with his troops. At that time they were led by a particular voevoda of Prince Mikhalko's named

47. Both these towns were part of the tithe endowed to the church of the Holy Theotokos in Kiev.

1171 Vladislav, the brother of Ian. He rendered gratitude to the Lord and to His Most Pure Mother Theotokos, and they marched rapidly against the Polovetss, whom they met and slew because none of them was able even to raise his arm. Such was the miracle performed by the Mother of God, the Most Pure Theotokos. Then they inquired of those who remained alive, "Are there any of your Polovetss behind you?" They replied that there was a large Polovetsian host advancing behind them over 10,000 men strong.

Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich relied upon Lord God and His Most Pure Mother Theotokos, who from the very beginning had performed this great and unspeakable miracle over the godless Polovetss and had rendered them up to death, thus giving help. Hoping that this great Aid and Intercessor would again give aid, he mounted his horse and rode quickly against them with his small troop; but suddenly a great multitude of Polovetss met him, and they prepared to attack his troops and massacre them when suddenly they dispersed, dropping their weaponry and shields, fleeing naked on their horses. Their horses, however, fell, and they died. Thus did the Mother of God demonstrate Her great and unspeakable mercy [and defense] against those who offended cities and districts endowed to Her Holy Great Cathedral Church of the Tithes [in Kiev]. God will not allow a common man to be offended, and still less will He permit an offense to the sacred house of His Mother. And taking revenge, He does so in various manners. It is awesome to go against Higher Power and to offend sacred and divine places. Because of the miracle of the Mother of God, all the people rejoiced in soul and heart, chanting their gratitude to Lord God and His Most Pure Mother. And at that time there was fear and trembling throughout the entire Polovetsian land because of the miracles which had happened.

[DEATH OF VLADIMIR OF DOROGOBUZH]

The same year Mstislav Iziaslavich, grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, together with his brother, Iaroslav Iziaslavich, with all the levies of Volynia and Galich, and with the Kouis, marched against Dorogobuzh, against Prince Vladimir Andreevich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh. The latter was ill at that time and passed away on the twenty eighth day of the month of January. And so they campaigned in the principality

of Dorogobuzh and in its other cities, burning some of them, and **1172**
then returned to their places.

The same year a multitude[48] of Polovetss raided and campaigned around Kiev. At that time the grand prince of Kiev, Gleb Iur'evich son of Dolgorukii, was ill and therefore he sent against them his brothers, Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich and Vsevolod Iur'evich, children of Dolgorukii. They chased them beyond the Bug river, and thanks to Divine Mercy and that of the Most Pure Theotokos, and all the saints, those Polovetss were slain. And some of them escaped to the prairie, and the Russian princes returned home with joy and captives.

[DEATH OF MSTISLAV IZIASLAVICH]

The same year[49] Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich, grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, passed away in Vladimir in Volynia; he was buried in the city of Vladimir, where he passed away. His sons were Roman and Sviatoslav. When the Novgorodians heard that Prince Mstislav Iziaslavich had passed away, they drove from their city his son, Prince Roman, and accepted Prince Riurik Mstislavich [to rule] according to their will.[50]

The same year a son was born to Prince Mstislav Andreevich and he was baptised with the name, Vasilii.

The same year Elias, archbishop and lord of Novgorod, together with his brother, Gabriel, laid the foundation of a monastery and a church in honor of the Annunciation of the Most Pure Theotokos. The same year in Novgorod the price of a bucket of rye was four *grivnas*; and of bread, two *nogatas*; and of a *pud* of honey, ten *kuna*. The same year Posadnik Vas'ka Busliaevich passed away in Novgorod.

[ROMAN ROSTISLAVICH, GRAND PRINCE OF KIEV]

In the year 6680[1172].[51] The pious and Christ-loving Grand

48. In the year 6681 (1173) in *Hyp.*

49. In the year 6678 (1170) in *Laur.*; in the year 6680 (1172) in *Hyp.*

50. Riurik Rostislavich, not Mstislavich. He was from Smolensk. In the year 6678 (1170) in *Novg. Syn.* In the year 6681/1173 in *Hyp.*

51. In the year 6678 (1170) in *Novg. III*; in the year 6681 (1173) in *Hyp.*

1172 Prince of Kiev, Gleb Iur'evich son of Dolgorukii, grandson of Andrei, who was called "Vladimir Monomakh,"[52] great grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, passed away. He ruled in Kiev for two years and he was buried in the church of St. Saviour in Berestovo, where his father, Iurii, also lies. And this happened on the sixth day of the month of September. And his sons [sic!] was Vladimir.

The same fall[53] Grand Prince Andrei Iur'evich [Bogoliubskii], son of Dolgorukii, sent Prince Roman Rostislavich of Smolensk to be grand prince of Kiev, while Roman's son, Prince Iaropolk, ascended to the grand principlaity of Smolensk.

[SUZDALIAN CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE BULGARS]

The same winter[54] Grand Prince Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii, son of Dolgorukii, sent his son, Mstislav, against the Bulgars of the Volga and Kama; and the prince of Riazan' sent [to fight alongside him] his son, and the Prince of Murom also sent his son. And this campaign was very strenuous because during the winter it is difficult to fight the Bulgars of the Volga and the Kama. There occurred a misunderstanding resulting in great grief, and those who went campaigning lamented greatly; and those who were supposed to go would not go. When Prince Mstislav camped in Gorodets at the mouth of the river Oka, he was joined there by his kinsmen, the princes of Riazan' and Murom. They camped there for two weeks, awainting the voevoda, Boris Zhidislavich, because he was in command and had the trains. And so they marched against the Bulgars and came to them secretly. They occupied six towns and seven of the cities, putting men to the sword and capturing women and children, and returned to their places. Seven thousand Bulgars pursued them and nearly caught up with them, but there was still a distance of twenty versts between [the two hosts].

Prince Mstislav at that time had only a few troops because the main troops had already gone farther, being in great need of supplies, and some of them were in quite bad straits because of the

52. "Andrei" was Vladimir Monomakh's Christian name, "Vladimir" being his Slavic clan name.

53. In the year 6679 (1171) in *Novg. III*; in 6681 (1173) in *Hyp.*

54. In the year 6681 (1173) in *Hyp.*

winter. Lord God and His Most Pure Mother, however, turned **1173**
back the pagans, demonstrating an unspeakable miracle. So She obviously intervened and saved [the Russians] from the pagans. The Russian hosts returned with great difficulties because it is very hard to campaign against the Bulgars in winter.

[CHANGES IN KIEV]

The same year Grand Prince Roman Rostislavich, grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir, who was called Andrei Monomakh at Holy Baptism, left Kiev at his own will because he feared the conspiracy of the Kievans and Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich. The same year Prince Mikahlko Iur'evich ascended to the grand principality of Kiev. [Later] that year the grandson of Mstislav, Iaroslav Iziaslavovich, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, ascended to the grand principality of Kiev.

In the year 6681 [1173]. On the twenty eighth day of the month of March Prince Mstislav, son of Andrei Bogoliubskii, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, passed away and was buried in the church of the Holy Theotokos in Vladimir, which had been built by his father.

In the year 6682 [1174]. The pious and Christ-loving Prince Sviatoslav Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, passed away on the eleventh day of the month of January. This prince was very virtuous, Christ-loving and people-loving; but from his earliest youth till his death he was sickly. Through this illness, however, he became blessed. He was very intelligent and well-read in Holy Scripture, was of very good morals and was most meek, loving people and being merciful toward them. His body was buried in the holy church of the Holy Theotokos in Suzdal'.

The same year[55] Iurii Vladimirich, prince of Murom, passed away, on the nineteeth day of the month of March, and he was buried in the church which he, himself, had built in Murom.

The same year the Novgorodians revolted against their prince, Riurik Rostislavich, and he fled from Novgorod. The Novgorodians then sent to Grand Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii, asking him to send his son to rule in Novgorod; and he sent to them

55. In the year 6681 (1173) in *Hyp.*

1175 his son, Prince Iurii. They accepted him with honor, but on their own conditions.

The same year Prince Davyd Rostislavich of Vyshgorod refused to be in unity and friendship with Grand Prince Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii and his brothers. He conspired with his brother, Mstislav, went to Kiev by night and arrested Andrei's [Bogoliubskii's] brother, Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, as well as Prince Iaropolk Rostislavich. When Grand Prince Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii received tidings of this, he sent his son, Iurii, with the levies of Rostov, Suzdal' and Novgorod, giving the command to Boris Zhidislavich; and together with them there were twenty other princes with their regiments. Prince Davyd Rostislavich of Vyshgorod left his brother, Prince Mstislav Rostislavich, to prepare [the city] for siege; and he, himself, went for aid to Galich. This host of Bogoliubskii's marched to Vyshgorod with large forces, besieged the city and made great effort to fight the burghers, remaining near the city for nine weeks; but they did not succeed in the least and returned to their places.

[FEUDS IN NOVGOROD, KIEV AND CHERNIGOV]

In the year 6683 [1175]. The Novgorodians chased from their city their prince, Iurii, son of Andrei [Bogoliubskii], grandson of Iurii [Dolgorukii], great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh; and they sent to Prince Mstislav Rostislavich requesting him to send his son; and Prince Mstislav Rostislavich set his son, Sviatoslav, in Novgorod to be prince there. At that time[56] Iaroslav Iziaslavich, grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Andrei, called Vladimir Monomakh, was on the throne of the grand principality of Kiev. And then Grand Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich of Chernigov unexpectedly marched to Kiev against him and captured his druzhina. Grand Prince Iaroslav Iziaslavich himself, fled, but his princess with his junior son and the entire druzhina were captured. He [Sviatoslav of Chernigov] remained in Kiev fifteen days, then returned to Chernigov, taking with him Iaroslav's vast wealth. Hearing of this, Iaroslav became very wroth with the people of Kiev. He returned and told them, "You have brought Sviatoslav Vsevolodich of Chernigov against me; so now you must consider how to ransom my wife and my son." Those, however, did not know

56. In the year 6682 (1174) in *Hyp.*

what to answer, so he imposed a tax on all, including the ar- **1175**
chimandrites, the abbots, the priests, the monks, the wealthy merchants, the Latins living in Kiev, and on all the people of Kiev; and it was a great burden for the Kievans. Then he marched against Chernigov; at that time in Chernigov there was a fratricidal feud between the prince of Chernigov [Sviatoslav Vsevolodich] and Oleg Sviatoslavich because Oleg Sviatoslavich wanted to conquer the principality of Chernigov. So Grand Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich of Chernigov made peace with Grand Prince Iaroslav Iziaslavich of Kiev, and Iaroslav Iziaslavich marched back to Kiev, while Sviatoslav Vsevolodich marched against Prince Oleg Sviatoslavich, burned his domain, caused much evil and returned to Kiev.

The same year[57] Prince Roman Rostislavich and his brothers asked Grand Prince Andrei Iur'evich Bogoliubskii to help him so that Prince Roman Rostislavich, grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, would be able to become grand prince of Kiev: "It is known to all that you assigned princes to the grand principality of Kiev!" And he [Andrei] responded, "Wait a bit, because I have sent for tidings to Russia to my brothers [that is, to the Kievan region] and when I hear from them I will answer you."

ASSASSINATION IN VLADIMIR OF GRAND PRINCE ANDREI IUR'EVICH BOGOLIUBSKII BY KUCHKOVICHS [AND HIS ENCOMIUM][58]

[6683 (1175)] The same year on the twenty-ninth day of the month of June, when Apostles Peter and Paul are commemorated, Grand Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii was assassinated. This assassination occurred in the following manner. On Friday after Eucharist, the accursed murderers held a meeting. He had a ser-

57. In the year 6682 (1174) in *Hyp.*

58. The assassination took place not in Vladimir but in Bogoliubovo, Andrei's suburban residence. The original story of the assassination of Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii was written by a man from Kiev who greatly admired the prince's work and, apparently, witnessed his murder at least indirectly. The version of *Nik.* is very close to that in *Hyp.*; that of *Laur.* is less detailed. Both probably originated from the *Kievan Chronicle.* A short encomium was included in the original version but was later considerably enlarged and embellished.

1175 vant named Iakim Kuchkovitin, whom he liked very much. The latter heard that Prince Andrei had given an order to execute his brother because he had committed a crime, and therefore this Iakim, instructed by the devil, ran shouting to his kin, Peter Kuchkov, his brother-in-law, to Anbal Iasin, the keyholder,[59] and to Efrem Moizovich, all these being his accursed advisors; and he told them, since he has executed this one today, tomorrow he may execute us. Let us consider what to do about the prince." And they decided to assassinate their lord and their breadgiver.

These accursed ones prepared themselves, took up weapons and, like ferocious animals, went by night against their lord, Grand Prince Andrei. It was the night before Saturday when the holy and supreme Apostles Peter and Paul are commemorated, the prince's favorites. And so these accursed Kuchkovichs, in all, there were twenty accursed murderers in their conspiracy—went to the Prince's estate and killed the palace guards. But with the prince was a young Turkic slave.[60] They came to the porch, forced and broke open the doors, and went to the bedroom where the blessed prince was sleeping. One of them, standing at the door, called, "My lord, my lord, Grand Prince!" And the prince asked, "Who are you?" And he said, "Prokopii." Then the prince told his young servant, "no, it is not Prokopii!" And when they heard the voice of the prince, they rushed forward and began to break open the door, and with effort they broke it off.[61]

The blessed one lept up and reached for his sword, but there was no sword because it had been taken away the same day be his keyholder, Anbal. It was the sword of the holy and great martyr, Boris. Then two of the accursed ones hastened to seize the prince. The prince, however, threw one of them down; but at that moment the others rushed in, and taking the fallen man for the

59. In *Laur.* only Anbal; In *Hyp.*, Anbal Iasin; In *Nik.*, also Anbal Iasin. Iasin: apparently, a Ias, an Osset, an Alan—a member of an Iranian tribe from the northern Caucasus. There were regular contacts between Russia and the Caucasus in the twelfth century. Andrei's son, Iurii, married the famous Georgian queen, Tamara.

60. The author of this story, a Kievan sympathizer of Prince Andrei's, uses the word "Koshchei"—which means "slave" or "servant" in Turkic.

61. Detail in *Nik.* and *Hyp.* only.

prince, they killed their co-conspirer erroneously. Thereupon **1175**
they recognized the prince, and set to fighting him, as the prince was extremely strong; and so they struck him with swords and sabers. The prince told them, "Woe to you, accursed infidels! Why do you follow the example of Goriasser?[62] What manner of harm have I caused you, that you wish to shed my blood on the earth? God will take revenge upon you, for you have eaten my bread!"[63] These conscienceless ones thought the prince was already killed, and they took up and carried out their slain friend [whom they mistook for the prince]; and they departed, trembling.

But the prince revived, lept after them and began to sigh and to speak, pained at heart, and he walked onto the porch. When they heard his boice they returned, but he escaped beneath the porch; and one of them said, "I saw the prince going down from the porch." And he added, "Let us see whether we killed him." And they returned but could not find the blessed one and said, "Oh, now we are lost. Let us look for him, quickly." So they lit candles and found the blessed one sitting on a pillar at the entrance, and here they killed him. Peter cut off his right arm, the other pierced him with his sword, and so the blessed one received his death on the twenty-ninth day of the month of June, when the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul are commemorated.

On the morrow, Sunday, the day when the Twelve Apostles are commemorated, the prince was found lying dead under the porch; and the clergy of Bogoliubovo went thither,[64] took up his body and carried it into the church, chanting over it; and they laid it in a stone sarcophagus. The burghers of Bogoliubovo and the servants on his estate sacked his house and took all his wealth and possessions, as well as the possessions of his posadniks and his *tiuns*.[65] The other possessions and estates, likewise, were robbed.

Theodul, abbot of the cathedral of the Holy Theotokos in the city of Vladimir, together with his clergy and with the family of Luka[66] and the people of Vladimir went to Bogoliubovo for his

62. Goriasser was the murderer of Prince Boris.

63. This detail in *Hyp.* and *Nik.* only.

64. Bogoliubovo: "Place loved by God," was the residence of Prince Andrei near Vladimir, whence derived his nickname, "Bogoliubskii."

65. *Tiun*: an official charged primarily with legal affairs.

66. In *Hyp.*, p. 593, "*Luka demestvennik*:" *demestvennik* was a director

1175 body, took possession of his body on the fifth day of the month of July, Thursday, carried it to the city of Vladimir and buried it in the cathedral of the Holy Theotokos of the Golden Cupolas which he, himself, had built and embellished and endowed with wealth and estates and with tithes from the Sunday markets, as well as with all other tithes according to the statutes of holy and blessed Grand Prince Vladimir, which he established after the Greek *Nomocanon*.[67] [Prince Andrei] followed his tradition and did everything according to his tradition.

[ENCOMIUM TO THE BLESSED PRINCE ANDREI BOGOLIUBSKII]

During all his life he would not relax from his work or from his care and concerns for the sake of God, and he would often not close his eyes to sleep. He always purposed to create, and finally did create a true house of the Most Pure Mother of God, a shelter for Christians, the way for repentance and salvation. He washed away his sins with his martyr's blood, and he came, pure and spotless, with his brothers, Roman and Davyd, to Christ God. He enjoys with them the food of Paradise and the unspeakable blessing of Lord God, which can not be seen by the eyes nor heard by the ear, which can not be explained by the mind of man but which is prepared by God for those who love Him. From his early youth he loved Christ-God and His Most Pure Mother Theotokos, and he always cared greatly for Divine Scripture, and was always attracted by the pure life, endeavored to purify his reason and his mind. He was meek and humble and simple in his ideas, and quiet and forbearing, and full of love and mercy. He built many churches and monasteries, and enjoyed very much doing this. He particularly loved the clergy and the monks, the poor and paupers, pilgrims, the afflicted and the ill; and he always tried to bring peace of mind and to feed all the sick, inviting them to his place and embracing and consoling them. He was so generous with alms that in the streets and at the crossroads and at the entrance to the city and in many other places he would place food and drink; and he would give the hungry to eat, and the thirsty to drink; and he

or leading singer in a church choir. Later, an innovator or composer of church chants. *Ocherki russkoi Kultury XVI v.*, Moscow, 1977, Vol. 2, p. 396. Dal's (Vol. 1, p. 427) explanation is outdated.

67. *Nomocanon*—the Orthodox code of ecclesiastic laws.

would clothe the naked and he would help the poor in trouble, remembering the words of Christ, Who said, "What you do for a single one of my younger brothers, you do unto Me." And David said, "Blessed is he that considereth the poor." [Psalms 41:1] And he also said, "Blessed is the man who is merciful and generous each day." And his son, Solomon, also said, "Through alms and faith all one's sins are cleansed. When you give to the poor, you give to God." And the holy prophet, Daniel, said, "Break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by showing mercy to the poor." [Dan. 4:24] Such were the life and deeds of this blessed Prince Andrei, son of Iurii Dolgorukii, grandson of Andrei called "Vladimir Monomakh," great grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. Grandson of great Prince Vladimir. **1175**

We beseech thee, blessed Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii, to have the courage to pray to Lord God and His Most Pure Mother Theotokos, to pray unremittingly for your brother, Vsevolod,[68] our lord and prince, and for all your kinsmen, asking to give them victory over their enemies. And pray for their long life on earth in the piety of Christ, as well as their princesses' and their childrens', and that their kin will endure from generation to generation to the end of the world. And also intercede before God that their reign be quiet and tranquil and that they be able to enjoy all earthly blessings sent by God, and also receive the heavenly blessing, thanks to the grace of the manloving God, Our Jesus Christ, for His is the glory and the power, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, now and ever and unto the ages. Amen.

[STRUGGLE OF THE ROSTISLAVICH NEPHEWS AND THE IUR'EVICH UNCLES FOR THE SUZDALIAN LAND][69]

The same year after the assassination of Prince Andrei Iur'evich [Bogoliubskii] the people of Rostov, Suzdal' and Pereislavl' assembled in the city of Vladimir and said, "Our lord, Prince Andrei, was assassinated and he has no children [here]. His son is

68. Prince Vsevolod, known because of his large family as Vsevolod "Great Nest" *("Bol'shoe gnezdo")* was the brother of Prince Andrei and reigned over Vladimir, Rostov and Suzdal' from 1176 to 1212.

69. The report on this struggle in *Nik.* is very close to both the *Laur.* and the *Hyp.* texts.

1175 in Novgorod and still very young; and his brother is in Russia [that is, in the region of Kiev]. For whom should we send to be our prince? Our neighbors are the princes of Riazan' and Murom, and we tremble and fear that they may come and conquer us because we have no prince. Let us send to Prince Gleb of Riazan', saying, 'God has taken our lord prince. Now we want as princes your brothers-in-law, Prince Mstislav Rostislavich, the grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, and his brother, Prince Iaropolk Rostislavich.'"[70]

And so, having made this decision before the icon of the Most Pure Theotokos, they sent their envoy to Prince Gleb of Riazan', saying, "We want your brothers-in-law. Please send to Russia your envoys, with our envoys, so that they may go to obtain a prince for us in Russia."

And so they forgot their pledge on the cross to Prince Iurii Dolgorukii and to his younger children. Prince Gleb of Riazan', hearing this, was glad to receive this honor—that they wanted his brothers-in-law to become princes there. And so, swearing on the cross and before the icons of the Holy Theotokos, they sent their envoys to them: Prince Gleb of Riazan' sent his; and the people of Rostov, Suzdal' and Pereiaslavl' likewise sent theirs.

When the envoys came to Chernigov, to the sons of Rostislav, the envoys of the people of Rostov, Suzdal' and Pereiaslavl' told them, "Once your father [Rostislav] was our prince and he was very good to us. Come to rule us. We want no one else." In such a manner did the envoys announce the message of the druzhinas [of Suzdal' and Rostov] in the presence of [their uncle] Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich, who was sojourning with Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich of Chernigov, and was also there. Princes Mstislav Rostislavich and Iaropolk Rostislavich responded, "God help the druzhinas for remembering our father's love for them." Then they told Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich, "Do not grieve or bear any grudge against us [because the druzhinas of Rostov and Suzdal' want us and not you to rule them]. We did not send them anyone or did we ask to become prince there. They, themselves, urged us to do so at their insistence. If, however, you wish also to be prince there, then go thither and rule over them. If, however, you do not

70. Incorrect. These two were the sons of Iurii Dolgorukii's senior son, Rostislav.

wish it [to do it by yourself], then let us all four go together—two Iur'evichs [Prince Mikhalko and Vsevolod] and two Rostislavichs [Princes Mstislav and Iaropolk]." **1175**

And so they agreed and mutually pledged on the venerable and lifegiving cross in the presence of the bishop of Chernigov, and they went thither peacefully. And so they arrived in Moscow. When, however, the people of Rostov, Suzdal' and Pereiaslavl' received tidings of the arrival of the Iur'evichs, they became agitated and told Prince Iaropolk Rostislavich, "Come hither to us!" But they told Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich, "Wait a bit in Moscow." Iaropolk secretly left Mikhalko Iur'evich and set out to the druzhina of Pereiaslavl', while Mikhalko Iur'evich, learning of this, went to the city of Vladimir.

The druzhina met Prince Iaropolk, embraced him and pledged their fealty to him on the cross. Thus confirmed by their oath, Princes Mstislav and Iaropolk, the sons of Rostislav, went to Rostov, with the druzhinas of Suzdal' and Pereiaslavl'. With them were troops from the city of Vladimir, about one and a half thousand men, invited thither by the people of Rostov. They gave their oath on the cross [to the Rostislavichs] and then marched to Vladimir, against Prince Mikhalko. The latter, however, prepared the city for siege. The troops of Rostov, Suzdal' and Pereiaslavl' wrought much harm around the city and, having invited the princes of Riazan' and Murom to assist them, they campaigned there, put the people to the sword, and burned [the towns], saying, "We will burn everything and take the city and put or own posadnik there. They are our bondsmen because they are just stone cutters and carpenters."[71]

The burghers of Vladimir fought bravely from their fortifications, the Most Pure Theotokos helping them; and so their enemies besieged and attacked the city for seven weeks, but the Holy Theotokos saved the city. When, however, the food supplies became exhausted, the people of Vladimir asked Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich, "Prince! You must either make peace with them or care for us. We are becoming weary from famine." Answering them,

71. Here there came into the open the hatred between the older cities of Rostov and Suzdal' of the Oka-Volga land and the city of Vladimir, which had become the regional capital only under Andrei Bogoliubskii.

1175 he said, "You are right. You should not perish because of me." And he left them, setting out for Chernigov, and they bade him farewell, weeping.

Then the burghers of Vladimir made an agreement, confirmed by an oath on the cross, with Msitislav Rostislavich and his brother, Iaropolk Rostislavich, who promised them not to cause them any harm. And they went with a procession of crosses to meet them. Entering the city of Vladimir, Prince Mstislav Rostislavich and his brother, Prince Iaropolk, consoled the people of the city and divided the land of Rostov between them. Prince Iaropolk Rostislavich ascended joyfully to the throne of Vladimir in the cathedral of the Most Pure Theotokos, having made the agreement. The people of Vladimir did not dislike the princes, Mstislav Rostislavich and Iaropolk Rostislavich, but they did not want to submit to the city of Rostov, whose people used to offend them, saying, "We will set fire and burn the whole city of Vladimir, and will assign our own posadnik there. These folk are our bondsmen, only stonecutters, carpenters and ploughmen, and the city of Vladimir is nought but a junior town in the Rostovian land." Then the people of Rostov let Prince Mstislav Rostislavich, grandson of Mstislav and great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, ascend to the throne of his father and his forefathers.[72]

The same winter Prince Iaropolk Rostislavich of Vladimir in Volynia married the daughter of the prince of Vitebsk, and the wedding took place in the cathedral of the Most Pure Theotokos in Vladimir in Volynia.

The same year the people of Smolensk chased from Smolensk Prince Iaropolk Romanovich, grandson of Rostislav, great grandson of Mstislav, gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh; and on Shrove Tuesday, the thirtieth day of the month of January, they brought Prince Mstislav Rostislavich to rule over the city of Smolensk.[73]

72. Incorrect. The Suzdalian land was in the hands of Monomakh's son, Iurii Dolgorukii, and his son, Andrei, from the beginning of the twelfth century, while the line from Monomakh's son, Mstislav, remained in the south, in and around Kiev. Dolgorukii's son, Rostislav, remained in Suzdal' but shortly. The above mentioned Mstislav Rostislavich was his son, and grandson of Iurii and not of Mstislav.

73. This is a confusing statement, repeated in several chronicles. The only known Mstislav Rostislavich at that time remained in Rostov. Here, it must be Rostislav Mstislavich, as in *Laur.* and *Hyp.*

In the year 6684/1176.[74] Prince Mstislav Rostislavich and **1176**
Iaropolk Rostislavich, who ruled in the principalities of Rostov and Suzdal', distributed the towns to their posadniks, boiars and druzhinas. Thus they caused the people a great burden, selling the land and imposing numerous taxes, which resulted in great grief. Both of these princes were still young, so they heeded the counsel of their boiars, who taught them how to take [others'] possessions and sell them. Prince Iaropolk Rostislavich was instigated by them in the most wicked and accursed manner: they deprived the church of the Most Pure Theotokos of Vladimir of its endowment—its cities, lands, towns, taxes and church revenues which had been endowed to the church of the Most Pure Theotokos by Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii. Also, all gold, silver and sacred vessels, as well as the keys to the buildings in which all the ecclesiastic treasures were guarded, were taken by them. Therefore murmurings and grumbling arose among the burghers of Vladimir who said, "We accepted these princes of our own volition and we pledged fealty on the cross; but now they rob and destroy not only their own domain and the domain of the common people, but they even take away the domains, lands and taxes and other of the church's income." Therefore they sent a message to the people of Suzdal' and Rostov exposing the latter's wrongdoing, but the latter responded only with some hypocritical words and did not undertake anything. Thus the people of Vladimir pledged to be united and sent to Chernigov for Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich, telling him, "You are the senior of your kin. Please come to Vladimir. In case the people of Rostov and Suzdal' plot against you, then God and the Holy Theotokos will decide between us and them."

And so a new miracle occurred from the Holy Theotokos. Mikhalko with his brother, Vsevolod, left the city of Chernigov and with them went Vladimir Sviatoslavich, grandson of Vsevolod Ol'govich [the latter being the great grandson of Sviatoslav, son of Iaroslav the Wise]. They arrived in Moscow and were met with great joy by the burghers of Vladimir. In the meantime, Prince Mstislav Rostislavich, as well as his brother, Iaropolk, received these tidings. He sought advice from his druzhina and ordered Prince Iaropolk to march against them [Mstislav and Vsevolod]

74. In the year 6683 (1175) in *Hyp.*

1176 with his troops and to fight as soon as he met them, so as they not be allowed to enter the city of Vladimir.

Thanks to Divine Providence, he passed them by marching through the forest, and while Prince Mikhalko marched toward Vladimir, Prince Iaropolk marched by another route to Moscow. Then Mistislav Rostislavich learned from his brother, Iaropolk Rostislavich, "Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich is very ill and is carried on stretchers. His druzhina is not numerous. I will pursue him and try to catch up with his druzhina. Brother, go ahead against him before he reaches Vladimir."

Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich was only five versts from Vladimir when Prince Msitslav Rostislavich encountered him with his own durzhina, but it was not in full strength. Some lagged behind, others had not yet left the city. This happened because Prince Mstislav was in a hurry to go forward to meet Mikhalko before the latter reached the city of Vladimir. Therefore he bypassed the hills [*Zagorie*] with his troops because the ground was frozen, and raised his banners. Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich marched forward quickly, aligning his troops for battle, while the druzhina of Mstislav charged them at a trot, as if they were bent on engorging them all. The bowmen of both hosts started shooting, but suddenly, before they reached the other host, Mstislav's druzhina dropped their banners and fled in terror, pursued by the wrath of God and the Most Pure Theotokos. Indeed, in such manner the Mother of God did not permit Her house to be offended. Since God and His Most Pure Mother Theotokos do not allow a common man to be offended, even less do they let holy and sacred places to be offended.

Prince Mstislav Rostislavich fled to Novgorod and his brother, Iaropolk Rostislavich, fled to Riazan; but their mother and her daughters-in-law were caught by the people of Vladimir. Mikhalko's druzhina chased both of Rostislavich's troops, fought them and took captives.

[MIKHALKO IUR'EVICH GRAND PRINCE OF VLADIMIR]

Thus Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich entered the city of Vladimir and was met there by priests and monks with crosses and by a multitude. And so, on the sixteenth day of June, a Sunday, Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich with his brother, Vsevolod Iur'evich, entered

it. Verily, one should marvel that, thanks to Divine Providence **1176**
and the intervention of His Most Pure Mother Theotokos, and not thanks to human plotting, the burghers of the junior city of Vladimir overcame the more powerful ones, those of the senior and stronger cities of Rostov and Suzdal', as well as their boiars, who wanted to introduce their own justice, not obeying Divine Justice. They all said shamelessly, "Vladimir is a junior town and is inhabited by our bondsmen, stone cutters, carpenters and ploughmen." Heeding weakest people and wishing no good to us, to this city or to its inhabitants, they opposed God and the Holy Theotokos. This city was founded by the great and blessed Vladimir, and was exalted by Prince Andrei [Bogoliubskii], son of Iurii Dolgorukii. And then this Prince Mikhalko was chosen by Lord God and the Most Pure Theotokos, as it is said in the Gospel: "I worship you, Father, Lord of Heaven and earth, because you hid the truth from the wise and the clever but disclosed it to infants."

In this case, also the wise, rich and strong people of the ancient and senior cities of Rostov and Suzdal' insisted on their advantages but were not able to understand Divine Justice, and they opposed His Will. But the people of the new, weak and junior city of Vladimir understood Divine Justice and His Will. Tremblingly and with awe, they prayed, prostrating themselves, and Lord God and His Most Pure Mother did not let them be offended. When a man prays to Him wholeheartedly, Lord God will not deny him His Grace; and the people of Vladimir, also, were not denied their blessed wishes, and He was glorified over all the earth: "Those who glorify Me will also be glorified by Me, and those who reject Me will also be rejected in their dishonor."

The same year the people of Rostov and Suzdal' sent their envoys to Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich, petitioning him and saying, "Our lord prince! Do not turn away your heart from us! We did not take part in Prince Mstislav Rostislavich's campaign! Please, lord prince, come to Suzdal' to rule us with peace, meekness and love." And he went to them, to Suzdal', with peace, meekness and love; then he went to Rostov, also with peace, meekness and love. And he had them pledge their fealty on the cross, and returned to Vladimir. He assigned his junior brother, Vsevolod Iur'evich, to be prince of Pereiaslavl' [Zaleskii], which is located on lake Kleshchino.

1177 The same year Grand Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, went to Riazan' to Prince Gleb of Riazan'. When he had gone as far as Merskaia he was met there by the envoys of Prince Gleb of Riazan', who proclaimed him their prince's greetings, peace and love, and his admission of guilt, because, with the help of his brothers-in-law—Princes Mstislav Rostislavich and his brother, Prince Iaropolk Rostislavich—he had taken the Icon of the Holy Theotokos from the church of Vladimir. He [Gleb] restored all that he had taken, even up to the last icon and the books. Prince Mikhalko Iur'evich made peace and friendship with Prince Gleb of Riazan', and returned to the city of Vladimir.

THE RULE OF VSEVOLOD "GREAT NEST" [WAR BETWEEN VSEVOLOD AND MSTISLAV][75]

In the year 6685 [1177].[76] The people of Rostov and Suzdal' sent to Novgorod for Prince Mstislav Rostislavich, grandson of Mstislav,[77] great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh. He set out for them, leaving his son, Sviatoslav, in Novgorod.[78] On the twentieth day of the month of June when St. Methodius is commemorated, while he was still afar off, Prince Mikhalko, son of Iurii Dolgorukii, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, passed away. He was buried in the holy church of the Most Pure Theotokos of the Golden Cupola which was built by his brother, Prince Andrei Iur'evich.[79]

75. Vsevolod Iur'evich, usually called *"Bol'shoe gnezdo"* ("Great Nest"—he had eight sons and four daughters), Grand Prince of Vladimir, 1176-1212; later, he controlled most of Russia, including Novgorod, Kiev and even Galich. He was the founder of the northeastern Russian state, thus becoming, indirectly, the protagonist of Muscovite power. Most of the subsequent princes of northeastern Russia were his descandants.

76. In the year 6684(1186), according to *Novg. Syn.*

77. Incorrect. He was the grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii.

78. In *Laur.*, year 6685 (1177), the text is slightly different: "The same year the people of Rostov and *the boiars* brought Mstislav Rostislavich from Novgorod." Thus the boiars still played an important role in political life of the old cities—Rostov and Suzdal'—of northeastern Russia.

79. This church was called *"Zlatoverkhaia."*

1177 The people of Vladimir sent to the city of Pereiaslavl' [Zalesskii], which is on Lake Pleshcheevo,[80] for Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, grandson of Monomakh, and he came to them forthwith. They went to meet him before the Golden Gates and pledged their fealty to him and to his children on the sacred and lifegiving cross of the Lord. And so he entered the city of Vladimir and ascended to the throne.

The same fall the envoys from Rostov and Suzdal' came with Prince Mstislav Rostislavich, grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, from Novgorod to the city of Rostov, and he ascended to the throne of Rostov. The same fall Prince Mstislav Rostislavich of Rostov summoned his boiars, his stepsons and his druzhina, and they took counsel as to how to fight Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir. They became greatly joyful and from day to day they incited him to march with an army against the city of Vladimir and Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, but he delayed, saying, "Wait until we can bring everyone together and even add some other [allies] to ourselves." The people of Rostov began to express their discontent and to address him unpleasantly, so he marched with them against Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich toward the city of Vladimir. Vsevolod, however, with the people of Vladimir, marched against him; approaching Lake Kleshchino [Lake Pleshcheevo], he sent for the people of Pereiaslavl' [his junior nephew] Prince Iaroslav Mstislavich, grandson of Rostislav [error: Iurii Dolgorukii], great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh.

When Vsevolod marched beyond Suzdal' he saw the holy church of the Most Pure Theotokos of Vladimir and the entire city of Vladimir, and it seemed as if they were floating in the air: thus did Lord God and the Most Pure Theotokos give them their token sign of encouragement. Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich and all his army were very astonished by this and he said, "God have mercy on us! This will be a great and new miracle! Glory to Thee, Our Lord, Christ God Eternal, because Thou canst commit whatsoever things Thou wishest."

Prince Vsevolod sent to Prince Mstislav Rostislavich, telling him, "The people of Rostov have brought you to be prince over them and so rule over them in Rostov; but the people of Vladimir

80. Lake Pleshcheevo is also often called "Kleshchino" in various chronicles.

1177 have brought me to be prince over them, and so Vladimir will be mine. And Suzdal' will be common to us. Whomsoever they want, that one will be their prince." He [Prince Mstislav] wanted to agree but he was overwhelmed by his people of Rostov, who said, "You may wish to do thus, but we do not. The city of Vladimir is not a full-fledged principality but only our settlement and it is inhabited by our bondsmen, by stone-cutters, carpenters and ploughmen."

Such were the people of Rostov, who boasted proudly and were unaware that lacking humility one can ne'er succeed. They did not comprehend that God endows whomsoever He wants with power, and that a judge is appointed by the Highest One. He supports and strengthens only him who is humble. If a land reveres God, then God endows it with a just lord who loves justice and truth; when the lord is just toward his people, many of his sins can be remitted because he is the real head of those under him, and he brings them to God—some by grace and others through fear. Both these paths befit human nature because the obedient ones should be ruled with humility and quietude, while the others by awe and fear. Such a ruler does not seek anything for himself nor does he take revenge for himself, but he does it for the sake of those who belong to Christ, to God, and who are just.

So Prince Mstislav with the people of Rostov prepared for battle. Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, however, marched against them with the people of Vladimir, going as far as the town of Iur'ev, whither the levies of Pereiaslavl' came to him and informed him of the speeches of the people of Rostov: "Our lord Prince! God and justice are with you; there is no fault in you toward them. It is not your fault that the people of Rostov are against you and that Prince Mstislav Rostislavich is against you. He follows the advice of Dobrynia Dolgii and of Matvei Butov and of other criminal men of Rostov. It is barely nine days since your brother, Mikhalko Iur'evich—who is also his uncle—passed away, and he already wants to shed blood." Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, relying upon Lord God and His Most Pure Mother Theotokos, marched against them and aligned his regiments. Prince Mstislav Rostislavich marched to Lipitsy and the bowmen of both armies began shooting at each other. Then the two armies rode toward each other. The

armies covered the fields at Iur'ev, and they clashed near Iur'ev **1177**
between Gza and Lipitsy. Lord God and the Most Pure Theotokos helped Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, and he defeated Prince Mstislav Rostislavich with his army of Rostov. Dobrynia Dolgii was killed and so was Ivanko Stepanov and many other boiars, voevodas and stewards of Rostov, while others were captured, and all the estates of the boiars of Rostov were sacked. Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich returned to Vladimir with his army while Prince Mstislav Rostislavich, grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, escaped to Rostov. He remained there for awhile and from Rostov fled to Novgorod; but the Novgorodians did not want to accept him, saying, "You went in search of another principality and abandoned us, leaving only your son with us." And they sent him his son, Sviatoslav, saying, "Go whithersoever you want; but do not remain with us."

Mstislav went from Novgorod to Riazan' to his father-in-law, Prince Gleb; and before Prince Gleb of Riazan' he started weeping and complaining about Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh. Prince Gleb of Riazan' wanted to send his envoy to Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, asking for peace and friendship on behalf of his sons-in-law, but they did not wish this and said, "There is no way to have peace and friendship with him." Listening to his sons-in-law, the grand prince of Riazan' lost his wits and marched to Moscow with his army; he burned the entire city of Moscow, the fortress, the districts and the towns, and took many captives; but Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich marched against him with the levies of Rostov, Suzdal' and Pereiaslavl' [Zaleskii], with all his forces. When he was already beyond Pereiaslavl', near the Sherenskii forest, some Novgorodians, the children of Miloneshko, came to him, saying, "Our lord, Prince Vsevolod! Do not march against Prince Gleb of Riazan' without the brave sons of Novgorod; but assemble all the Novgorodians and then march against him." He listened to the Novgorodians and returned to the city of Vladimir, saying, "May the will of God be done; may the Lord God and His Most Pure Mother take revenge on him." In the meantime, Prince Gleb of Riazan' burned the entire city of Moscow, all the districts and the towns, capturing everyone, and returned to Riazan'.

The same winter Grand Prince Vsevolod decided to take

1177 revenge upon Prince Gleb of Riazan', and he marched against him, toward Riazan', with the levies of Rostov, Suzdal', Pereiaslavl' [Zaleskii] and of Novgorod. Grand Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich of Chernigov sent to his aid his nephew, Oleg, and his son, Vladimir. He was also joined by his brother's son, Grand Prince Vladimir Glebovich of Pereiaslavl' [Russkii], the grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, who came to him from Pereiaslavl' Russkii. All these forces joined Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich and he marched with them toward Riazan', against Prince Gleb of Riazan'. Nearing Kolomna, he received tidings that Prince Gleb of Riazan' had marched by another route to Vladimir, that he [Gleb] was raiding Vladimir with the Polovetss, that he had sacked the church of the Theotokos in Bogoliubovo and that he had stolen icons and all manner of vessels, as well as robbed other churches, and that he had caused the Christians much evil. Thus had Prince Gleb of Riazan' provoked the wrath of Lord God and His Most Pure Mother; and for his madness and his evildoings he suffered due vengeance from Lord God and the Most Pure Theotokos. But of this we will speak further on.

When Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich learned of Prince Gleb of Riazan' and the latter's ravaging hither and yon, he sighed deeply and said, "The Benevolent Lord God will take revenge upon him because he heeded his sons-in-law and committed wrongdoing, murder and bloodshed." Speaking thus, he returned from Kolomna and hurried back to his own land. He encountered Prince Gleb of Riazan' on the river Koloksha, where he [Prince Gleb] was encamped with the Polovetss and the captives he had taken. They remained there, the one opposite the other, for a month but they were unable to attack because the river was not solidly frozen.

Prince Gleb of Riazan' wanted to make peace but Prince Vsevolod Iurievich did not want this, although he was aware that Gleb did not intend any harm but had merely acceded to the intrigues of his brothers-in-law, had brought the Polovetss and had thus become involved in murder and bloodshed, bringing down on himself the wrath of the Lord God and the Most Pure Theotokos.[81] Therefore Vsevolod Iur'evich and his army became

81. Although *Nik.* follows the text of *Laur.* in narrating this story, this particular sentence is missing in *Laur.* and this passage is obtusely phrased in *Nik.*—Ed.

inflamed with courage and rejoiced, eager to march against him [Gleb] with all their forces; but Prince Gleb of Riazan' was old and weak, and his entire army was saddened at his condition. He, himself, knew not what to do. Lord God subdues the evil and proud, and brings them down; He delivers them over to extermination, to shame and to dishonor. And so in Shroveweek Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich began to muster his regiments and prepared his trains, dispatching them to the other side of the river Koloksha, where Prince Gleb of Riazan' was encamped. Prince Gleb of Riazan' also mustered his army and sent it, under his son-in-law, Prince Mstislav Rostislavich, against [Vsevolod's] trains. 1177

But Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich dispatched his son, Vladimir, beyond the trains with the levies of Pereiaslavl', as well as a large number of warriors, to fight Prince Mstislav Rostislavich. On his part, Prince Gleb of Riazan' with two of his sons, Roman and Igor', and with his other son-in-law, Iaropolk Rostislavich, crossed the river Koloksha, marching against Vsevolod Iur'evich toward Mt. Proskova. Before they reached Vsevolod's army, at a distance of one arrow's flight, his [Gleb's] son-in-law, Prince Mstislav Rostislavich, who was on the other side of the river Koloksha with the remaining army of Prince Gleb of Riazan', panicked and all Gleb's army became confused. And such was Divine Will and the revenge upon Prince Gleb of Riazan' for his evildoings: he saw his son-in-law, Prince Mstislav Rostislavich, seized by fear and trembling, flee from Prince Vladimir Vsevolodich. Then he, too, fled, though none pursued him but the wrath of God. When Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich saw that they [Mstislav and Gleb] were chased by the wrath of God, he followed them with the entire army. Some of them he slew, others he took prisoner, including Prince Gleb of Riazan', himself, the latter's son, Prince Roman, the latter's son-in-law, Prince Mstislav Rostislavich, Gleb's tysiatskii, Boris Zhidislavich, his voevoda, Iakov Didenkov, Ol'styn, Dedila, and a great multitude of others who were taken captive, as well. Also, some Polovetss were slain and others captured.

In such a way did Lord God take revenge because since the Lord God and His Most Pure Mother Theotokos do not permit a common man to be offended, still less do They allow sacred and divine places to be desecrated. They may tolerate [evildoing] for a certain time but when They decide to avenge, then They avenge.

1177 As ye judge and take measure, so will ye be judged. He who caused harm to his neighbor commits a sin, be it physical or spiritual harm. The Law says, "Mercy will not be shown to him who is without mercy." [Rom.11:31, paraphrased].

Thanks to God and the Most Pure Theotokos, it was a great victory which Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir sustained against Prince Gleb of Riazan'. It occurred on Monday of the week of St. Theodore; and he returned joyously to the city of Vladimir, bringing with him [as prisoners] Prince Gleb of Riazan', his son, Prince Roman, and his brother-in-law, Prince Mstislav Rostislavich, the grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh.

Three days thereafter murmurings and discontent arose in the city of Vladimir, from among the powerful to the lesser people of Vladimir: they all came in arms to the court of the prince, saying, "Lord Prince! We have shed our blood, protecting and caring for you. But now you hold your and our enemy, Prince Gleb of Riazan', his son, Roman, and his brother-in-law, Prince Mstislav Rostislavich. Together with them are the people of Suzdal' and Rostov, who are their allies and friends but who are also your and our enemies. Some of them are here in the city, and outside the city there is a multitude of them; and when they arise in conspiracy, then this last one will be worse than the first. Therefore you should either blind them or put them in the dungeon."

But Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich was merciful and did not want to do this. Yet, because of the people's discontent and uprising, he ordered that they be put in the dungeon, and he sent an envoy to Riazan', saying, "Either turn over to me my enemy, Prince Iaropolk Rostislavich, Gleb's brother-in-law, or, if you do not, I will campaign against you with great hosts." The people of Riazan' held counsel and said, "Because of these sons of Prince Rostislav, much harm has come to our princes and we have suffered. Let us go to Voronezh and seize him." Indeed, Prince Iaropolk Rostislavich escaped to the land of Voronezh, in which region he was moving from town to town, unaware whither to go because he was greatly grieved and oppressed. So they went to Voronezh, seized him and took him to the city of Vladimir, to Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich.

He [Prince Vsevolod] ordered that he [Iaropolk] be taken from them [from the people of Chernigov] and be cast into the dungeon with the others. Then, for the second time, the people arose, shouting, weeping and crying, "We want them to be blinded!" Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich was greatly grieved at this because he was very merciful; but he could not prevent them from doing it. So they [the people of Vladimir] went, destroyed the dungeon and seized Prince Mstislav Rostislavich and Prince Iaropolk Rostislavich, whom they blinded and then let them go. They were taken away with rotting eyes, and they came to Smolensk and entered the church of the Holy Miraclemakers Boris and Gleb on Smedyn'; and there, on the fifth day of the month of September, the day of Gleb's murder, they recovered their sight. Prince Gleb of Riazan' died in the dungeon but his son, Prince Roman, gave his pledge on the cross; and, since he had become peaceful, he was allowed to go to Riazan'. **1178**

The same winter[82] Prince Mstislav Rostislavich and his brother, Prince Iaropolk Rostislavich, went to Novgorod. The people of Novgorod received them with honor and great joy, and accepted Prince Mstislav Rostislavich as prince of Novgorod; and to his brother, Iaropolk Rostislavich, they gave the city of Torzhok. And, also, they gave the city of Volok Lamskii to Prince Iaroslav, who was the son of Vsevolod's brother.

The same year Prince Roman Glebovich of Riazan' slew many Polovetss.

[NOVGORODIAN AFFAIRS]

In the year 6686 [1178]. Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir concluded an agreement of peace and friendship with the Novgorodians, who pledged him their fealty on the cross, but they did not keep their oath. Then he marched against them toward Torzhok, burning districts and towns, but he did not burn the city. Then the Novgorodians promised him to pay tribute; but they lied again. So he marched against them and seized their city, slew many and took their wives and children captive; and he burned their city. This happened on the eighth day of the month of December when our blessed father Potapius is remembered. He sent the prisoners and booty to Vladimir while he, himself, went

82. In the year 6686 (1178), according to *Hyp.*

1179 to Volok Lamskii, where he arrived unexpectedly, burned districts and towns, and captured his nephew, Prince Mstislavich, grandson of Rostislav,[83] great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh. And he burned the city of Volok Lamskii and took many prisoners, slaying the others, then returned to Vladimir.

In the year 6687 [1179].[84] In Easter week, in Novgorod, Prince Mstislav Rostislavich, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, passed away. He was buried in the chapel of St. Sophia in the burial grave built by Vladimir Iaroslavich.[85] The same year Prince Mstislav Rostislavich [son of Rostislav of Smolensk] mustered 20,000 Novgorodians and went campaigning in the Chud' land[86] and Ochiula. He remained there for eight days and took some captives, and the others escaped to the sea; and he returned to Novgorod with great booty.

In the year 6688 [1180].[87] Prince Mstislav Rostislavich marched with the Novgorodian host against Polotsk, against his brother-in-law, Prince Vseslav. Once, the latter's grandfather campaigned against Novgorod, captured ecclesiastic vessels and brought captive people from one suburb to Polotsk. Now, Prince Mstislav Rostislavich wanted to return all the captured possessions of Novgorod, and so he went to Luki, where he was met by the envoy from Smolensk sent him by his brother, Roman Rostislavich [of Smolensk] to tell him, "Brother! Do not fight against Polotsk and Prince Vseslav, because he never offended you. If you want to fight, however, then come to fight me!" [Mstislav] did not want to sadden his senior brother, Prince Roman Rostislavich, and he returned to Novgorod. There he was seized by a grave illness, because of which Prince Mstislav, son of Rostislav, grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, passed away on the fourteenth day

83. Incorrect: Iurii Dolgorukii.

84. In the year 6686 (1178), according to *Hyp.*; in 6686 (1178) in *Novg. Syn.*

85. After his death the people of Novgorod invited another to be prince there, Mstislav Rostislavich, son of Prince Rostislav of Smolensk. *Nov. Syn.*, pp. 35-36.

86. Here, by the "Chud' land" is meant present Estonia.

87. In the year 6686 (1178) in *Hyp.*, *Nov. III* and *Sof. V.*

of the month of June when the holy Prophet Elisha and St. Methodius, Patriarch of Constantinople, are remembered. And he was buried in the cathedral of the Holy Sophia [in Novgorod]. His sons were [sic!] Sviatoslav. Then the Novgorodians took his brother, Iaropolk Rostislavich, to be prince of Novgorod;[88] but Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir [as a reprisal] captured the merchants of Novgorod and caused them many hardships. The Novgorodians were very saddened and grieved, and so they sent Prince Iaropolk Rostislavich away from Novgorod. At that time Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir unexpectedly sacked Novyi Torg. He slew many and captured others. **1180**

In the meantime, the Novgorodians sent to Smolensk, to Prince Roman of Smolensk, asking him to come to them to be prince in Novgorod. He listened to them and in Theodore's week he came to Novgorod; and in the week of the Holy Oecumenical Council, he became the prince of Novgorod. The same year[89] Elias, Archbishop and lord of Novgorod, laid the foundation of a stone church of the Annunciation of the Most Pure Theotokos. They started building it on the twenty-first day of the month of May and finished it on the twenty-fifth day of the month of August; and so it was under construction for seventy days.

[SVIATOSLAV OF CHERNIGOV]

In the same year[90] Grand Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich of Chernigov, grandson of Oleg, gr. grandson of Sviatoslav, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, marched with the levies of Chernigov and with Polovetss against Suzdal' to fight Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich. At the same time his son, Prince Vladimir, marched from Novgorod with the Novgorodians and they joined forces on the Volga near Tver'. They devastated the entire region of the upper Volga and burned the cities, towns and districts. Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich marched against him and met him fourteen versts short of

88. Incorrect: this Iaropolk Rostislavich, grandson of Dolgorukii, was the brother of the first Mstislav Rostislavich, formerly of Rostov, and not of Mstislav Rostislavich of the Smolensk line. See *Novg. Syn.* 37-38 and *Index.*

89. In the year 6687 (1179), according to *Novg. III.*

90. In the year 6689 (1181) in *Laur.*; 6688 (1180) in *Novg. Syn.*

1180 Pereiaslavl', on the river Vlena; and there they camped, the one opposite the other, for two weeks. They engaged in a skirmish and then departed, each in his own direction, because Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich of Chernigov feared the floods. His son, Vladimir of Novgorod, together with the Novgorodians, however, burned the city of Dmitrov, the districts and the towns; and so Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich returned to Chernigov and his son, Vladimir, returned to Novgorod with the Novgorodians, while [Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich] left for Vladimir. [Later the city of] Novgorod met with great honor Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich of Chernigov and gave him many gifts.[91]

[THE RIAZAN' FEUD]

The same year the princes of Riazan'—Prince Vsevolod Glebovich and his brother, Prince Vladimir Glebovich—sent their envoys to Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich to complain of their senior brother, Roman Glebovich, who was violating their dominions. Vsevolod Iur'evich went to Riazan' to [deal with] Prince Roman Glebovich; arriving in Kolomna, he was met there by Prince Vsevolod Glebovich and by his brother, Vladimir Glebovich. They quickly concluded an agreement and marched further beyond Kolomna. Prince Roman Glebovich of Riazan' sent forward a vanguard under Prince Gleb Sviatoslavich, grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Oleg, gr. gr. grandson of Sviatoslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir; but he blundered and all his army was drunk, and the whole vanguard was caught. Prince Gleb Sviatoslavich, grandson of Vsevolod, was also captured and brought to Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, who sent him to the city of Vladimir. Then he [Vsevolod] marched to the Oka and there his advance troops encountered Prince Roman's other vanguard, who also were drunk and asleep; and they slew some and captured others; and some, escaping, drowned in the river Oka. When Prince Roman Glebovich of Riazan' learned that these vanguards had been defeated, he fled at once into the prairie, passing the city of Riazan', while his [two other] brothers—Princes Igor' Glebovich

91. This text is not very clear either in *Nik.* or in other chronicles. Apparently, Sviatoslav Vsevolodich came to Novgorod just to visit and advise his son, Vladimir.

and Sviatoslav Glebovich—prepared themselves for siege in the 1181
city of Riazan'.

Then Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir marched toward the city of Riazan', crossed the river Oka, occupied the city of Borisov and Glebov, and arrived in the city of Riazan'. There he made peace with Grand Prince Roman Glebovich of Riazan' and with his brothers, Prince Igor' and Sviatoslav, and the latter pledged on the cross that each would care only for his own domain, would not offend each other, would not trespass into the domain of another, and would abide in peace and friendship; and so, having concluded peace and agreed on friendship, they went home.

[IAROPOLK ROSTISLAVICH CAMPAIGNS AGAIN]

In the year 6689 [1181].[92] Vladimir Sviatoslavich, grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Oleg, gr. gr. grandson of Sviatoslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, was the prince of Novgorod, while Prince Iaropolk Rostislavich resided in Novgorod merely as a commoner. Prince Vladimir Sviatoslavich, grandson of Vsevolod, was sorry for him and interceded on his behalf with the Novgorodians, asking them to be merciful toward him and to grant him some town [as dominion] where he could live. When the Novgorodians heard of this they became grateful to him [to Vladimir] for this [intercession] and, as was the custom of Novgorod, they summoned the *veche*. And they gave the city of Novyi Torg, also called Torzhok, to Prince Iaropolk Rostislavich, grandson of Mstislav, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh. But when he came to Torzhok and remained there awhile, he began to campaign on the Volga against the cities, towns and domains of Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir. While he was warring there and was unaware [what was occurring in the region] he was suddenly attacked by Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir, who had assembled strong forces, as well as the levies of Riazan' and Murom. Prince Iaropolk Rostislavich with his people of Novyi Torg prepared the city for siege; but the others besieged the city, and fierce and evil fighting ensued. And so they besieged the city for ten weeks, and the people of the city began to suffer from famine, and there was great grief

92. In the year 6690 (1182) in *Laur.*

1182 and sadness in the city. Prince Iaropolk Rostislavich inspected the city and the walls, exhorting his troops against the enemy, when suddenly he was shot by the enemy; and there was great grief and sadness in the city. Because of this great grief and sadness the people of Novyi Torg surrendered to Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir, who occupied the city, arrested Prince Iaropolk Rostislavich, put him in irons, as well as all the Novyi Torg boiars, voevodas, magnates and merchants, and took them to Vladimir with their wives and children.

[IAROSLAV, PRINCE OF NOVGOROD]

The same year[93] the people of Novgorod ejected from Novgorod their prince, Vladimir Sviatoslavich; and he went to his father, Sviatoslav Vsevolodich of Chernigov.

The same year[94] the people of Novgorod sent to Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich in Vladimir asking him to give them a prince; and he gave as prince his relative-in-law, Iaroslav Vladmirich named Ivan in baptism.[95] The same year the Novgorodians built the church of St. Jacob in Dobrynia street, as well as the church of Saints Cosma and Damian, and the church of St. George.

In the year 6690 [*1182*].[96] The Grand Princess, dowager of Grand Prince Iurii Dolgorukii, called Olga—who, after accepting monastic rules, was called Euphrosiniia,— died on the fourth day of the month of July; and she was buried in the church of the Most Pure Theotokos in Vladimir.

In the year 6691 [*1183*].[97] The Novgorodians cast out from the city of Novgorod their prince, Ivan—also called Iaroslav Vladimirich, who was a relative-in-law of Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir.[98] And he went to Vladimir, to his relative by marriage, Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich. Then the Novgorodians sent to

93. In the year 6688 (1180), according to *Hyp.*; 6690 (1182), according to *Novg. Syn.*

94. In the year 6690 (1182) in *Sof. V* and *Novg. Syn.*

95. *Novg. Syn.* p. 37 calls him only "Iaroslav Vladimirich."

96. In the year 6689 (1181) in *Hyp.*; and in the year 6691 (1183) in *Laur.*

97. In the year 6692 (1184) according to *Novg. Syn.*

98. "Iaroslav" was the Slavic clan name of Ivan.

Smolensk to Prince Davyd Rostislavich, asking him to send his son **1184**
to be prince there in Novgorod; and he sent them his son, Prince Mstislav; they [the envoys] accompanied him to Novgorod, and he became prince in Novgorod.

The same year[99] Archbishop Elias, lord of Novgorod, together with his brother, Gabriel, laid the foundation of the stone church of St. John on the Market.

[THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE BULGARS]

In the year 6692 [1184].[100] Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir marched against the Bulgars, and with him were his brother's son, Prince Iziaslav Glebovich—grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii and great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh; Prince Mstislav Davydovich [of Novgorod]; and Prince Vladimir Sviatoslavich [of Chernigov]; and he called to his aid the princes of Riazan' and Murom: Prince Roman Glebovich of Riazan' with his brothers, Prince Igor' and Prince Vsevolod; and Prince Vladimir of Murom. They advanced in boats on the water and along the shore on horseback, and came into their [the Bulgars'] land, left the boats on the shore and camped near the town called Tugchin. They remained there for two days, and on the third day they marched toward their [the Bulgars'] great city, with a mounted vanguard riding ahead. From thence they dispatched the levies of Belozero with their voevoda, Foma Laskov. And he sent them by boat because they were near the water, in order to guard them [the main host] from the Polovetss. And so they, themselves, marched into the prairie, and there in the prairie was a large troop. They thought it was a Bulgar troop, but five people approached from this troop bowing before Prince Vsevolod and saying, "Prince Vsevolod Iurievich! The Polovetss of [Khan] Emmak proclaim you their friendship and tell you that they have come hither with a Bulgar prince to battle with the Bulgars because they have heard that you have begun a campaign in order to fight them." Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich took counsel with his kin and they strengthened their alliance with them [with the Polovetss]—our people, according to the way of our faith, and the others—the Polovetss—

99. 6692 (1184), according to *Novg. Syn.*

100. In the year 6690 (1182) according to *Hyp.*; and 6691 (1183) according to *Novg. Syn.*

1184 according to their faith. And he took them with his troops on the campaign against the great city, and they stopped on their way for two days, and on the third day they marched toward the great city, crossing the Cheremis' land.[1]

On the first day [after arriving there] he prepared his regiments for battle. Mustering their troops, he [Vsevolod] took counsel with his kin; thereafter Prince Iziaslav Glebovich, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, hurried forth, took up his lance and approached the raft whither the [Bulgar] footmen had sortied from the city. They [the Bulgars] strengthened their fortifications, preparing their rafts and other resources. He chased their rafts toward the city gate but became weary and broke his lance. Then they[2] shot him with an arrow below his heart, through his armour; his soldiers supported him and, because he was still breathing, bore him into the camp. Then the Bulgars attacked fiercely and slew many Christians. Bulgars from the city, from Sabaku and from Chelmat advanced in boats and those from the Torchesk on horses; and they all approached Vsevolod's boats. And so the Bulgars drew near the hosts of the Russian princes in the boats. There near the boats were the Belozero troops, left there by Vsevolod. The attacking Bulgars came up to the boats and hurried into battle; but they, the Russians, with divine aid, strengthened their position and marched against them. Seeing this, the Bulgars took fright and, thanks to the help of the Lord and the Most Pure Theotokos, they fled, not being pursued by anyone but chased only by divine wrath. When the troops of Belozero and the other troops witnessed the help of God and the Most Pure Theotokos, they pursued them, putting them to the sword. About 2,000 of them[3] drowned while escaping. Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich remained near the city about ten days, and his kinsman, Prince Iziaslav Glebovich, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, passed away there. In the meantime the

1. Cheremis: a Finno-Ugric tribe which at that time was strongly influenced by the Bulgars.

2. "They" here should be probably read as "the Bulgars," *cf. Musc. End XV.*, although in *Nik.* it reads "Polovetss." The role of the Polovetss in this campaign is, however, very unclear.

3. This should read "them", probably Bulgars according to *Musc. Late XV*, although in *Nikon* it reads "Polovetss." cf.: previous footnote.

Bulgars sent him [Vsevolod] their envoy with a petition. Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir concluded peace with the Bulgars and returned to Vladimir in boats on the waterway, dispatching his horse troops against the Mordva.[4] Prince Iziaslav Glebovich was brought to Vladimir and was buried in the cathedral church of the Most Pure Theotokos. **1185**

In the year 6693 [1185].[5] Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich sent to Kiev to Metropolitan Nicephorus of Kiev and all Russia, asking him to consecrate a bishop for Rostov. He requested this on behalf of Luke, abbot of the monastery of the Savior which is in Berestovo [near Kiev]. But Metropolitan Nicephorus sent him as bishop for Rostov a certain Nicholas the Greek.[6] Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich did not want him, however, and again interceded on behalf of Luke, abbot of the Savior Monastery in Berestovo. There were many petitions on behalf of the latter, and Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich even dispatched his envoy to Grand Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich of Kiev, interceding on behalf of the same Luke, abbot of the Savior. And so on the eleventh day of the month of March, when our blessed father Sophronius, Archbishop of Jerusalem, is remembered, Nicephorus, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, consecrated Luke, the abbot, to be bishop of Rostov, Suzdal' and Vladimir, and of the entire land of Rostov. This Luke was a man of few words, highly patient, kind, meek, merciful and very consoling toward all who were saddened or grieved; and he defeated all wordly passions, strengthening himself with the armour of the Holy Cross, labor, and ascetic deeds; and he guarded himself [from evil] through abstinence. Guarding oneself through abstinence is better than guarding oneself through deeds, and one becomes blessed through genuine meekness and complete humility.

The same year[7] on the seventh day of the month of April

4. Mordva were a Finnic tribe which lived and still lives in the southern part of the Suzdalian land.

5. In the year 6691 (1183) according to *Hyp.*

6. The patriarch of Constantinople and even the mostly Greek metropolitans of Kiev energetically and stubbornly tried to put in Russia as many Greek bishops as possible. Thus they strengthened their grip over the Russian church and collected more money for Constantinople.

7. In the year 6691 (1183) according to *Hyp.*

1185 there was a conflagration in the city of Vladimir. This happened on that day, and nearly the entire city burned. And so thirty and two churches burned, as well as the great cathedral church of the Most Pure Theotokos of the Golden Cupola, which was built by the pious Grand Prince Andrei Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii. It began to burn from the top and, because of our sins, there were burned all the the ecclesiastic valuables and adornments and costly church vessels of silver and gold; and silver thurifers, and vestments and books and all manner of church objects also burned. When God allows, even His holy domiciles are not preserved, and even the holy churches, divine vessels and sacred places are delivered over to destruction and devastation because of men's sins, so that they [men] be punished and converted [to the true faith]. The Prophet Isaiah says, "When one turns unto God and sighs, he will be saved. And when you turn unto Me, I will turn unto you."

[SVIATOSLAV OF KIEV DEFEATS THE POLOVETSS]

The same year[8] the Russian princes marched against the Polovetss. They were Grand Prince of Kiev Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, grandson of Oleg; Prince Ruirik Rostislavich; Prince Vladimir Glebovich, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii; Prince Gleb Sviatoslavich; Prince Gleb Iur'evich of Turov, grandson of Sviatopolk, great grandson of Iziaslav; Prince Msislav Romanovich; Prince Davyd Vsevolodich; the troops of Galich, which came to aid, as well as the troops of Vladimir and Lutsk. When they had assembled, they marched against them [the Polovetss]. They crossed the river Bug and searched for them for five days. Prince Vladimir Glebovich, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, was in the vanguard with the levies of Pereiaslavl' and with two thousand and two hundred Berendeis.

When the Polovetss received these tidings they were very glad that the Russians had moved into the prairie and, because they relied upon their strength, they said, "We have won great booty with no effort because the Russians have come hither into our hands." They were unaware of the Scriptures, in which it is said, "A strong man should not boast of his strength because there is no bravery or power which can prevail against God." They rushed to

8. In the year 6691 (1173) according to *Hyp.*

do battle with Vladimir, howling as if meaning to swallow them [the Russians] up. But Vladimir placed his hope in the Most Merciful God and His Most Pure Mother, the Ready Aid to Christians, and he marched against them. The two hosts clashed. The Polovetss fled, pursued by the wrath of God and the Most Pure Theotokos. The Russian princes chased them, slaying and putting them to the sword, and they took over 7,000 captives; and there were slain 417 Polovetsian khans, and sixteen of them were taken captive. They were Kobek, Osoluk, Barak, Tarag, Danilo, Bashkard, Tarsuk, Izugleb, Tereevich, Ikson, Alaka, Turgii with his son, Tetti with his son, and Turandai; and many others were killed, and some escaped. And this victory of Vladimir Glebovich happened with divine help on the thirtieth day of the month of June.[9] **1186**

The Russian Princes returned joyfully and with great bounty to their homes, thanking Lord God and His Most Pure Mother Theotokos. The same year, however,[10] the Polovetss came into Rus' and caused much evil. They burned districts and towns, took many captives and returned home.

In the year 6694 [1186]. The Greek Emperor[11] Alexis Porphyrogenitus, son of the Greek Emperor Manuel, came to Novgorod.

The same year Archbishop Elias, lord of Novgorod, passed away and he was buried in a chapel of the cathedral of the Holy Sophia. This Elias was the first archbishop of Novgorod because he was blessed to be called "Archbishop" by His Holiness John, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, when Grand Prince Rostislav Mstislavich, grandson of Monomakh, ruled in Kiev. The Novgorodians took counsel with their Prince Mstislav, with the entire sacred clergy, and they nominated to be bishop a certain Gabriel, brother of the late Bishop Elias. They did so with the condition that he be agreeable to God and that he be blessed and consecrated by the Metropolitan. So, after taking counsel, they dispatched him to Kiev with a petition to Nicephorus, Metropolitan

9. In this paragraph texts from several *mss.* are combined: particularly, from the *Obolensky ms.* and the *Laptev ms.* of the *Nikonian Chronicle.*

10. In 6692 (1184) according to *Hyp.*

11. Actually, he was merely Prince, the son of the Emperor.

1186 of Kiev and all Russia. He blessed him and consecrated him[12] according to sacred and divine rules, and let him go to Novgorod. And there was great happiness and joy in Novgorod because he became the second archbishop of Novgorod.

The same year the Novgorodians killed their posadnik, Nerevin, and Ivan Svinev, and they threw them from the bridge into the river.

PORTENT[13]

The same year, the first day of the month of May, a Wednesday, when the holy Prophet Jeremiah is commemorated, there was a portent on the sun during vespers. Everything became so dark that one could see the stars, and this lasted over an hour. And people saw green in their eyes. And the sun became like a half moon, and from its horns emerged a burning light. It was awful and fearful to see, and this portent filled everyone with awe.

The same year on the eighteenth day of the month of May a son was born to Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, and he was named Konstantin.

ABOUT THE OL'GOVICHS AND HOW GRAVE MISFORTUNE BEFELL THEM [PRINCE IGOR'S CAMPAIGN][14]

The same year.[15] This year the grandsons of Oleg campaigned against the Polovetss and their armies assembled near Pereiaslavl'. They were: Igor' Sviatoslavich with two sons from Novgorod Severskii; Vsevolod of Trubchesk with his brother, Sviatoslav Ol'govich, from Ryl'sk, as well as with his nephew; and there was the army from Chernigov, which came to help; and they marched into the Polovetsian land. When they arrived there, the Polovetss marched to meet the Russian princes and sent an envoy to request aid from the other Polovetss. The Russian princes defeated these Polovetss who were there, and some were slain and some were chased off; and they captured their wives and children

12. In the year 6695 (1187) according to *Novg. III*.

13. In 6693 (1185), *Novg. III*.

14. In its narration of Prince Igor's campaign against the Polovetss, *Nik.* follows closely the text of *Laur.*, which is shorter than the same narrative in *Hyp.*

15. In the year 6693 (1185) in *Hyp.*

and burned their camps and trains; and they remained in their encampment for three days. Those Polovetss who escaped from them informed the other Polovetss about their misfortune caused by the Russian princes. And the latter took offense and began to prepare for battle. 1186

The Russian princes sojourned three days in the Polovets encampment and took counsel, saying, "Since we defeated these Polovetss, let us march deeper into the prairie and we will defeat the other Polovetss and thus win eternal glory for ourselves." They were unaware that the Lord opposes the proud and grants His blessing to the meek. The Polovetss did not lose time in assembling, and they marched against them [the Russians]. They started galloping about, like demons, everywhere, neither attacking nor retreating. Only their bowmen were shooting, for they expected to be joined by other Polovetss with greater forces. And so they dealt cunningly, howling for three days, not using lances or sabers, awaiting additional troops from hour to hour, and not allowing the Russians to draw near the water. Then a great multitude of Polovetss arrived.

Since the Russian host was separated from the water, and since for three days neither they nor their horses had had any water in their mouths, they and their horses were weakened by thirst because it was very hot at that time and they were in dire need of coming closer to the water. Then the Polovetss pushed them back to the water, and there was a terrible fight and a wicked massacre. Many Russian warriors had to abandon their horses, which were exhausted, and were forced to fight the Polovetss on foot. At that time the marvellous bogatyr, Dobrynia Sudeslavich[16] was killed. Divine wrath descended upon the Russian warriors and they were defeated; and the Russian princes, as well as boiars and magnates, were taken prisoner, and others were slain. And the memory of the Russian warriors disappeared in the noise [of battle]. This happened because divine aid is not for the proud, but for the humble. And this was such a calamity that not one single messenger came from them to Russia.

Then the Polovetss sent a message by merchants to Russia,

16. "Bogatyr' Dobrynia Sudeslavich" is a later interpolation into the original text. Borrowing from the heroic epics.

1186 to the princes, saying, "Come to get your kin."[17] Grand Prince of Kiev, Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, and other princes, hearing what had happened to their kinsmen, shed tears and lamented as if they had lost their minds and wits. After many tears, Grand Prince of Kiev, Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, sent for his sons and for all the Russian princes and assembled a very large host and marched against the Polovetss, and he came to the city of Kanev. Learning that Grand Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich of Kiev was advancing against them with all the Russian princes and with a great host, they fled beyond the Don. And when Grand Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich of Kiev and the other Russian princes heard that the Polovetss had fled, they returned to Kiev to their own domains.

When the Polovetss learned that these [Russian troops] had withdrawn, they secretly followed them; but, not catching up with them, they unexpectedly came to Pereiaslavl', fought the whole day, killed many people and began to storm the castle. Prince Vladimir Glebovich, seeing that the castle could be taken, dared to march against them with his druzhina; but many of his druzhina were killed and Prince Vladimir Glebovich was nearly killed, but was taken back, pierced by three lances. And so they took the castle, caused much harm and took all the towns along the river Sula, and returned to their Polovetsian land with many captives and much bounty.

The same year[18] Prince Igor' Sviatoslavich escaped from the Polovetss. The Lord will not leave to the end a just man in the hands of the sinful, and He will not destroy a humble and meek heart; if one turns unto God and sighs, he will be saved. The Polovetss pursued him a long while but could not catch up, just as Saul could not catch David.

The same year [1186] Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir, son of Iurii Dolgorukii, grandson of Monomakh, sent his voevodas against the Volga and Kama Bulgars. They went thither to fight them and returned home with many prisoners and with booty.

The same year the Novgorodians cast out their prince, Iaroslav Vladimirovich, and accepted Prince Mstislav Davydovich [from

17. In the year 6693 (1185) according to *Hyp.*

18. In the year 6693 (1185) in *Hyp.*

Smolensk] to rule in Novgorod according to their will, and so this long-lasting custom took root.[19] **1186**

[RIAZAN'S FEUD IS RESUMED]

The same year the devil caused enmity in Riazan' as he did in the beginning, when Cain arose murderously against Abel; and subsequently many murders took place among brothers and kinsmen: and it happened in the same way to Prince Sviatoslav, who dared to murder Boris and Gleb; and also in the same way murder occurred among the princes of Riazan', the sons of Gleb. The accursed Satan came unseen to Grand Prince Roman of Riazan' and whispered to him and to his brothers, Igor' and Vsevolod, evil things concerning their junior kin, Prince Vsevolod, and Prince Sviatoslav Glebovich; and they invited the latter cunningly in order to arrest them. But the latter, realizing their evil conspiracy, did not got to them and began to fortify their city of Pronsk. Then they [Princes Roman, Igor' and Vladimir] summoned their army and marched against them to Pronsk and started campaigning against their towns, domains and villages, while those—Vsevolod and Sviatoslav—prepared Pronsk for siege.

When Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, Grand Prince of Vladimir, learned of this he sent to Grand Prince Roman of Riazan' and to his brothers, Princes Igor' and Vladimir, in order to conclude peace beteen them and their younger brothers, Prince Vsevolod and Prince Sviatoslav. They did not heed him, however, and became angry at him, so still greater hatred arose and they planned war. Prince Vsevolod with his brother, Sviatoslav, sent their messengers from Pronsk to Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, Grand Prince of Vladimir, asking him for aid. He sent to them from the city of Vladimir 1,000 warriors under his relative by marriage, Prince Iaroslav Vladimirich; and from Murom [he sent them]Princes Vladimir and Davyd. When they approached Kolomna the warriors [of the princes of Riazan'] learned of their arrival and fled from Pronsk. Prince Vsevolod Glebovich, seeing them fleeing the city, left his brother, Prince Sviatoslav, in the city of Pronsk and he, himself, went to Kolomna to meet Prince Iaroslav, Prince Vladimir and Prince Davyd; and he told them how the

19. *Sic!* The custom of ejecting and inviting princes.

1186 troops [of Riazan'] had fled from the city of Pronsk. When they heard about this they returned to the city of Vladimir and Prince Vsevolod Glebovich went with them to the city of Vladimir, to Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii.

As soon as Grand Prince of Riazan', Roman Glebovich, and his brothers—Igor' Glebovich and Vladimir Glebovich—learned that the troops [of the Grand Principality of Vladimir] had returned home with their brother, Prince Vsevolod Glebovich, who had gone thither in order to hold counsel with Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, they [the princes of Riazan'] marched again with their hosts toward the city of Pronsk. Their brother, Prince Sviatoslav Glebovich, prepared the city of Pronsk to withstand them. He fought fiercely but they [the princes of Riazan'] cut off the water supply and the people in the city became exhausted by thirst. Then they [the princes of Riazan'] sent their messenger to the fortress, to their brother, Vsevolod Glebovich, saying, "Do not destroy yourself, your druzhina or your people by hunger; but come to us. You are our brother, why do you fear us as if we meant to devour you? Only, make no alliance with your brother, Prince Vsevolod." He [Prince Sviatoslav] took counsel with his boiars, and the boiars told him, "Your brother, Vsevolod, has gone to Vladimir and has betrayed you. Open the city!" He followed his boyars' advice and acted accordingly. Then they [the princes of Riazan'] entered the city, which they gave [actually left] to Prince Sviatoslav; and they all pledged on the cross with him and assigned him to be prince in this city of Pronsk. But they took to Riazan' as prisoners the wife of Prince Vsevolod Glebovich, his children, and all his boiars. And they also captured those warriors of [the Grand Principality] of Vladimir who had been sent to the city of Pronsk by Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, and took them with them to Riazan'. When their brother, Prince Vsevolod Glebovich, heard that his wife, his children, his boiars and his possessions had been seized by them, and that his brother, Prince Sviatoslav Glebovich, had surrendered to them and had been obliged to pledge on the cross, he grieved greatly, left the city of Vladimir, went to the city of Kolomna, settled there and began to fight [his brothers]; and great hatred arose among them.

Grand Prince of Vladimir, Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dol-

gorukii, received tidings that Prince Sviatoslav Glebovich was ensnared in this intrigue and had turned over his [Vsevolod's] druzhina to the enemy as prisoners. And he dispatched an envoy to Prince Sviatoslav Glebovich, saying, "Return my druzhina and all my people from Vladimir, and do so in good faith. You received them from me as aid; but then you made peace with your brothers, and you have delivered my druzhina over to them. Why have you commited such an injustice? If you wish to be at peace with them and to fight me, then I, too, will fight you." Grand Prince Roman Glebovich with his brothers, Prince Igor', Prince Vladimir and Prince Sviatoslav, sent their envoys to Grand Prince of Vladimir, Vsevolod Iur'evich, expressing their submission and peaceful intentions, returned him with honor his entire druzhina, and gave him many gifts, and in such a way there were peace and great friendship among them. **1186**

The same year[20] Grand Prince Davyd Rostislavich of Smolensk, his son, Mstislav of Novgorod, Prince Vasil'ko Vladimirovich of Lutsk, and Prince Vseslav of Drutsk, marched with their levies from Smolensk, Novgorod, Lutsk and Drutsk against Polotsk. Learning of this, the people of Polotsk took great fright and said to themselves, "We can not do battle against the levies of Novgorod and Smolensk. If we allow them into our land and then make peace with them, there will still be much harm done by them. They will devastate our land, marching against us. Let us, rather, meet them at our border and make peace with them." And so they assembled together and went to meet them, their enemy; they met them on the border, bowed and rendered them honor, and presented them many gifts; and in such way they made peace and each went to his own land.

The same year Grand Prince of Vladimir, Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii—despite the fact that he had concluded peace with the princes of Riazan'—nonetheless perceived that there was enmity among them: among Roman Glebovich, Igor' Glebovich, Vladimir Glebovich, Sviatoslav and Rostislav.[21]

The same year it rained a great deal all summer.

20. In 6693 (1185) in *Novg. III.*

21. Rostislav, in *Nik.* as well as in *Laur.* and *Hyp.*, the earliest sources on this period. In the following text in *Hyp.*, however, this sixth brother is called Iaroslav.

1187 *In the year 6695 [1187].* On the second day of May a son was born to Grand Prince of Vladimir, Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, and was named Boris.

The same year Porphyrius, the bishop of Chernigov, came to Vladimir to Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, in order to arrange peace between him and the princes of Riazan', the sons of Gleb: with Roman, Igor', Vladimir, Sviatoslav and Rostislav.[22] He was very eager to achieve this peace and friendship, as well as unity among them, because Riazan' was part of the diocese of Chernigov. Arriving there [in Vladimir] on the holiday [of the Ascension], he stopped in the monastery of the Ascension of Christ and asked the help of Luke, the bishop of Vladimir. They two persuaded Vsevolod Iur'evich to make peace with the princes of Riazan'. He accepted their advice and allowed Porphyrius, bishop of Chernigov, go with the offer of peace to Riazan'. He sent his own envoys along to the princes of Riazan' and released those men of Riazan' who had been imprisoned. When Bishop Porphyrius arrived in Riazan' and came to Grand Prince Roman Glebovich of Riazan', and to his brothers—Igor', Vladimir, Sviatoslav and Rostislav—he consulted them secretly, unbeknownst to the envoys of Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, and altogether belied the latter's message to them. In such a way great dissension, shame and dishonor came forth; and then he departed by another route to Chernigov.

The same year on the eleventh day of the month of July, Grand Prince of Vladimir, Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, grandson of Monomakh, married his daughter, Vseslava, to the prince of Chernigov by the name of Rostislav, son of Iaroslav, grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Oleg.

The same year there was a severe epidemic among the people and not a single household was without ill people; thus, there were none to feed the sick or to give them drink, for all were lying sick. In such way does the Lord chastise His servants and convert them, converting; and saves them, saving.

The same year a great multitude of Polovetss raided the principality of Riazan'; they caused much harm and thereafter returned home.

22. See preceding footnote.

The same year Grand Prince of Vladimir, Vsevolod Iur'evich, **1188**
son of Dolgorukii, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, marched against Riazan' with his relative-in-law, Prince Iaroslav Vladimirich, and with Prince Vladimir of Murom. Prince Vsevolod Glebovich[23] marched with them from Kolomna against his brothers in Riazan'. They forded the river Oka, burned many domains and towns, captured many prisoners and returned home.

The same year, on the order of blessed Bishop Luke, the church of the Most Pure Theotokos was adorned with frescoes.

In the year 6696 [1188].[24] On the seventeenth day of the month of February there were verily terrifying thunder and lightning,[25] which killed two people and burned down a house; and there was great fright because it is written in the Scripture, "And God will cause the earth to shake and tremble, and He will show the people His wrath according to their actions."

The same year[26] Prince Vladimir Glebovich passed away. He was the grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. .gr.. gr. gr.. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir. And he was also the nephew of Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii. He passed away on the eighteenth day of the month of March in the city of Pereiaslavl' Russkii.

The same year[27] Prince Boris, son of Vsevolod, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, passed away.

The same year the Novgorodians[28] drove out from Novgorod their Prince Mstislav, son of Davyd, grandson of Rostislav, and took [once more] as prince of Novgorod Prince Iaroslav Vladimirich, [grandson of Mstislav the Great] relative by marriage of Vsevolod, Grand Prince of Vladimir. And he, Iaroslav, went to

23. In *Nik.*, Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, erroneously.
24. In 6695 (1187) in *Novg. III.*
25. Thunder and lightning are very unusual for the Russian winter.
26. In 6695 (1187) according to *Novg. III.*
27. In 6695 (1187) according to *Hyp.*
28. In 6695 (1187) in *Novg. Syn.* and *Kom.*

1189 Novgorod to rule them according to their will.[29]

The same year in the city of Novgorod the foundation was laid for the church of the Holy Theotokos in the Arkazhi Monastery.

The same year grain was very costly for people to purchase.

In the year 6697 [1189].[30] On the thirtieth day of the month of July Grand Prince of Vladimir, Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, wed his daughter, Verkhuslava, to Prince Rostislav Riurikovich of Belgorod.

The same year in the presence of Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, his son, Konstantin, and his son-in-law, Rostislav Iaroslavich, blessed Bishop Luke of Rostov consecrated the cathedral church of the Assumption of the Most Pure Theotokos.

The same year on the twenty ninth day of September Prince Gleb Vsevolodich passed away. The same year on the tenth day of the month of November pious and blessed Luke, Bishop of Rostov, Suzdal' and Vladimir, passed away. On the eleventh day of the month of November Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, together with the entire sacred council, buried his body with great honor in the cathedral church of the Holy Theotokos in the city of Vladimir.

The same year[31] a son, Iurii, was born to Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich.

In the year 6698 [1190]. Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, sent his own spiritual father, John, to Kiev to Grand Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich and to His Holiness Nicephorus, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, to be consecrated to the diocese of Rostov, Suzdal' and Vladimir. This happened as the Lord says: "I will care for him who is meek and humble and who trembles at My words, and you will learn from Me how I am meek and humble in heart." And Lord God cared for him and he was appointed to be the shepherd and teacher of the land of Rostov, Suzdal' and Vladimir; and so it happened. He was consecrated on the twenty third day of the month of January, when the holy martyr, Clement, is remembered. And he came to

29. Also called Prince Ivan; see y. 1181, when he came to Novgorod for the first time.

30. In 6695 (1187) in *Hyp.*

31. In 6695 (1187) in *Hyp.*

his see in Rostov on the twenty fifth day of the month of February, when holy father Tarasius is remebered. And at that time Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich was in Rostov. And on March tenth when the holy martyr Condratius is remembered, he [the bishop] came to Suzdal'. And on March sixteenth, a Friday, on the eve of the holiday of the Lord's man, Alexis, and the Lord's friend, Lazar, he came to Vladimir. **1191**

In the year 6699 [1191].[32] A son by the name of Fedor was born in Pereiaslavl' to Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich on the eighth day of the month of February, when the holy prophet, Zacharia, is remembered.

The same year[33] Prince Iurii, son of Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, had his hair cut in the city of Suzdal'.[34] The same day he was put on a horse, in the presence of the blessed John, Bishop of Rostov, Suzdal' and Vladimir.

ABOUT SUZDAL'

The same year[35] the foundation of the fortress of Suzdal' was laid by Grand Prince Vsevolod.

[ABOUT THE CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY IN VLADIMIR][36]

The same year on the twenty third day of August, with the blessing of his bishop, John of Rostov, Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, laid the foundation in Vladimir of the stone church of the Nativity of the Holy Theotokos.

[ABOUT PRINCE IAROSLAV OF NOVGOROD]

The same year Prince Iaroslav Vladimirich, relative-in-law of Vsevolod, marched against Luki. He was asked to do so by the princes and people of Polotsk; and he took the Novgorodian levies with him. They met on their common border and decided there should be friendship and consultations among them as to

32. In 6698 (1190) in *Laur.*

33. In 6700 (1192) in *Laur.*

34. With hair cutting (*postrig*) the family of a prince solemnized a boy's transition to adolescence. The next ceremony was putting him on a horse.

35. In 6700 (1192) in *Laur.*

36. In 6700 (1192) in *Laur.*

1192 whether to march together, either against the Lithuanians or against the Chud'. And Iaroslav marched that same winter with the levies from Novgorod, Pskov and with the levies of the entire region, against the Chud'.[37] They occupied the city of Iur'ev, burned much of their land and brought back an endless number of captives; and they, themselves, returned in good health to their places.

[CONFLAGRATION IN THE CITY OF VLADIMIR]

In the year 6700 [1192].[38] On the twenty fifth day of the month of June, Thursday, a great conflagration occurred in the city of Vladimir. The fire started at midnight and very rapidly the greater part of the city was consumed, including fourteen burned churches. In such way does God chastise. Once He chastises with epidemics, once with famine, once with fire, once with the invasion of foreigners, once through internecine feuds. If we do not turn unto Him with all our hearts and souls, taking each other's burden and forgiving the other's sins, then He will prepare His weapon and He will draw His bow and He will prepare his vessels of death. As is said, "Accept this chastisement because if God becomes angry, you will perish. God's chastisment is far from us but our sins put God's mercy yet further off; and then God's great anger falls upon us."

The same year Abbot Martirius built a church on an island in the monastery of St. Savior in the city of Rusa.

The same year Iaroslav Vladimirovich, Prince of Novgorod, marched to Pskov on St. Peter's day, and he, himself, remained in Pskov; but he sent his guard to fight [Chud'][39]: They marched forth and occupied the city of *Medvezhaia Golova* [Bear's Head]. And they burned the towns and domains around it and returned home.

The same year[40] Abbot Barlaam built in Khutyn' a stone

37. Chud': a Finno-Ugric tribe, predecessor of the present-day Estonians.

38. In 6701 (1193) in *Laur.*

39. Chud' a general name for the Finno-Ugric tribes of Northern Russia. Here more specifically the present Estonians.

40. In 6701 (1193) in *Vozn.*

church of the Transfiguration of Our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ. **1193**

In the year 6701 [1193].[41] In the month of September, the church of the Most Pure Theotokos in Suzdal' was renovated by John, Bishop of Rostov, Suzdal' and Vladimir; it had greatly deteriorated due to age and neglect. [Now] its roof was covered entirely with tin from the chapel to the top. It was really a marvel which happened, thanks to his faith in the Most Pure Theotokos. He had looked for masters among the Germans but found them among the workers of his own bishopric; and some others he found in the diocese of the Holy Theotokos. Some knew how to work with tin, others were roofers, and the third performed other tasks. His spiritual eyes were opened by God to behold ecclesiastic matters becuase he really cared for ecclesiastic concerns and for the clergy like a real shepherd, not like a mercenary.

The same year[42] on the twenty fifth day of the month of October a son was born to Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir and he was named Dmitri.

The same year Iaroslav, son of Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir, underwent the ceremony of the cutting of his hair.

The same year the miraclemaker Barlaam laid the foundation of the stone church of the Transfiguration of Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ in Khutyn'.[43]

The same year[44] Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, Grand Prince of Vladimir, laid the foundation of a fortress in the city of Vladimir.

The same year[45] John, Bishop of Rostov, Suzdal' and Vladimir, renovated the church of the Most Pure Theotokos in the city of Vladimir, which had suffered from the great fires; and it now looked quite white as if it were new.

The same year Gabriel, archbishop and lord of Novgorod,

41. In 6700 (1192) in *Hyp.*; and in 6702 (1194) in *Laur.*

42. In 6700 (1192) in *Hyp.*; and in 6702 (1194) in *Laur.*

43. The text of this paragraph is to be found only in *Laptev ms.* of *Nik.*

44. In 6700 (1192) in *Hyp.*; and in 6702 (1194) in *Laur.*

45. In 6700 (1192) in *Hyp.*, 6702 (1194) in *Laur.*

1194 passed away and was buried in a chapel of the cathedral of Holy Sophia next to his brother, Elias. He was the second archbishop of Novgorod and remained in his see for six years. After his death the Novgorodians selected three abbots: Mitrophanes, Martyrius and a Greek; and they cast lots over them and the lot fell to Martyrius. He was sent to Kiev to Nicephorus, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, to be consecrated there. And Nicephorus, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, consecrated him on the tenth day of the month of December, and on the sixteenth day of January he arrived in Novgorod.

The same year a Novgorodian host under voevoda Andrei marched from Novgorod to the Yugra land[46] and they took a city, and then came to another city; but those [the people of Yugra] prepared the city for siege and the Novgorodians besieged them five weeks, whereupon the Yugras sent to them, saying, "Do not destroy us because we obtain silver and gold and sable and other valuable things, and we are ready to pay you tribute." Thereafter they again sent from the city to the voevoda, saying, "Come to the city and bring twelve men with you." The voevoda went to the city, taking with him a priest and twelve others. They were conducted to a house and were massacred there. Then the Yugras sent for another thrity men, led them to a house and massacred them. Thereupon they, the Yugras, again sent their men from the city and accepted fifty more of the best men, and they massacred them, also. Then Savka told the prince of the Yugra, "Prince! If you don't kill Iakov Prokofiev and let him go alive to Novgorod, he will bring a host hither and your land will be devastated." But Iakov told Savka, "Oh, brother Sava! God and Holy Sophia will judge you because you are responsible for the blood of your brothers, and you will appear with them before Christ God and will be guilty of our blood, and you will receive retribution!" And saying this, he was killed. This Sava was a traitor who worked for the prince of the Yugras. The remaining Novgorodians were exhausted by famine and remained near the city for six weeks, listening to their [the Yugras'] lies. And on the day when the holy miraclemaker Nicholas is commemorated, the people of Yugra sallied from the city and massacred all, leaving only eighty people

46. Yugra: a Finno-Ugric tribe in northeastern confine of European Russia.

alive. Novgorod gleaned no tidings either about the living or about the dead the whole winter, and there was great grief in Novgorod. **1194**

The same year Barlaam, abbot of the monastery of the Holy Savior in Khytyn', died on the sixth day of the month of November.

In the year 6702 [1194].[47] Grand Prince Vsevolod sent his steward to build a town named Gorodets on the river Vostra in order to reclaim his dominion.

The same year on July twenty ninth Grand Prince Vsevolod laid the foundation of a fortress in Pereiaslavl' [Zalesskii] on the lake and the same year its construction was completed.

The same year Prince Igor' Glebovich of Riazan' passed away and was buried in the stone church of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb in the city of Riazan'.[48]

The same year[49] Sviatoslav, Grand Prince of Kiev, son of Vsevolod, grandson of Oleg, great grandson of Sviatoslav, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, passed away and was buried in the church of the monastery of St. Cyril, which was built by his father, Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev. His sons were Gleb, Oleg, Vladimir, Vsevolod, and Mstislav.

The same year the remaining living Novgorodians returned to Novgorod from the land of the Yugra.

The same year the cities of Ladoga and Rusa, as well as Gorodishche, burned.[50] And in Novgorod fires started, beginning with the day of All Saints up to the holiday of the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos, and people did not dare to live in their homes but lived in the fields.

RIURIK, GRAND PRINCE OF KIEV

In the year 6703 [1195]. Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, sent his men to Kiev and he sent to be grand prince

47. In the year 6703 (1195) in *Laur.*

48. This paragraph appears only in *Laptev ms.* of *Nik.*

49. In 6703 (1195) in *Laur.*

50. Gorodishche, a village near Novgorod, was the residence of the prince of Novgorod.

1196 of Kiev Prince Riurik Rostislavich, father of his son-in-law.[51]

The same year the Polovetss raided the land of Riazan', causing much harm, and returned home.

The same year Archbishop Lord Martyrius of Novgorod laid the foundation over the gates of the city for the stone church of the Deposition of the Vestments of the Most Pure Theotokos, and he laid the foundation for another stone church of the Holy Resurrection in the monastery in [his] section of the city.

The same year Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, sent a Novgorodian host against Chernigov to fight Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich of Chernigov, as well as the entire kin of Oleg.[52] The Novgorodians marched under their prince, Iaroslav Vladimirich, and when they reached Novyi Torg a messenger came to them from Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich ordering them to return home. The Novgorodians sent to Vsevolod posadniks Miroshka, Boris Zhiroslavich and Nicephorus, commander of the hundred, asking him to send his son to rule in Novgorod because they had cast out his relative by marriage, Prince Iaroslav Vladimirich.[53]

In the year 6704 [1196]. Blessed John, Bishop of Rostov, Suzdal' and Vladimir, on the first day of the month of May and in the reign of pious Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, laid the foundation for a stone church over the gate of the city near the fortress; and this church was dedicated to holy father Joachim and to holy Anna the Prophetess.

The same year a son, Gavriil, was born to Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii.

The same year Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir, son of Dolgorukii, wed his son, Prince Konstantin, to the daughter of Prince Mstislav Romanovich, grandson of Rostislav, great grandson of Mstislav, gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir. The wedding was performed by blessed John, Bishop of Rostov, Suzdal' and

51. Riurik Rostislavich was from the Smolensk line of the dynasty.

52. Iaroslav Vsevolodich (1139-1198) was the grandson of Oleg Sviatoslavich ("Gorislavovich"), the well-known opponent of Vladimir Monomakh and founder of the "Ol'govich" clan of Chernigov.

53. In 6704 (1196) in *Novg. Syn.*

Vladimir, in the cathedral church of the Most Pure Theotokos **1196**
and was attended by Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, his princess and their children; Grand Prince Roman Glebovich of Riazan' with the latter's brothers, Vsevolod Glebovich and Vladimir Glebovich, the latter with his son, Gleb; Prince Vladimir of Murom; and Davyd and Iurii with their men. And there were great joy and friendship in the city of Vladimir.

The same year Prince Vladimir, son of Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir, underwent in the city of Vladimir the ceremony of the cutting of his hair. There wre present blessed John, Bishop of Rostov, Suzdal' and Vladimir; Grand Prince Roman Glebovich of Riazan' with his brothers and his men; and there were great joy, gaiety and frienship because of this permanent union. And then they all dispersed to their own homes.

The same year the foundation of a stone church was laid in the monastery of St. Cyril in Novgorod.

[CONFLICT BETWEEN RIURIK OF KIEV AND ROMAN, OF VOLYNIA HIS SON-IN-LAW]

The same year[54] Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir sent to Kiev to the father of his son-in-law, Grand Prince Riurik Rostislavich of Kiev, telling him the following: "In our dynasty and amongst our kin I am supposed to have seniority. But since my lot is not to live in the Russian land [that is, in Kiev or Pereiaslavl'], I have distributed these cities and principalities to our junior kin with the condition that they protect them from war and against the raids of the pagans." So saying, Vsevolod asked the Grand Prince of Kiev to distribute the cities of Torchesk, Korsun, Boguslavl' and Kanev.[55]

But Grand Prince Riurik Rostislavich of Kiev has already given these cities to his son-in-law, Prince Roman, son of Mstislav, grandson of Iziaslav, great grandson of Mstislav, gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great

54. In 6703 (1195) in *Hyp.*

55. All these cities were about fifty miles south of Kiev, on the west bank of the Dnieper. In *Nik.*, "Boguslavl'" reads "Piatislavl'," but in *Hyp.*, 'Boguslavl'. This town has not existed since the Mongol invasion.

1196 Vladimir.[56] And he pledged [to Roman] on the lifegiving cross not to give this city to anyone else, to keep to his pledge and not to change it. So he offered other cities to Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich instead of those which the latter desired; Vsevolod, however, did not want any other cities than those which were earlier indicated. There arose an argument between them and a great conflict ensued. Thereafter, however, Grand Prince of Kiev, Riurik Rostislavich, told his spiritual father, Nicephorus, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, what had transpired. The latter advised him, "Oh, my son and Prince! Rely in your grief upon the Lord, and in order to stop the hatred and prevent bloodshed, I will absolve your sin of breaking your pledge on the cross [which you gave] to your son-in-law, Prince Roman Rostislavich. Give your son-in-law, Roman Rostislavich, other domains in place of those which he has, and give to Vsevolod those domains which he desires. In this way you will allay his enmity."

Grand Prince Riurik of Kiev greatly rejoiced and accepted the blessed advice of his spiritual father, Nicephorus, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, and he sent a messenger to his son-in-law, Prince Roman Mstislavich, telling him of this. And the latter answered, "My father! Do not fight or wage war on my account with Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir. Give him what he desires and allay his enmity, so that no blood be shed. And in place of those domains give me any others which you can give me. We are only guests in this passing life, and what good is it for a man to acquire the whole world if he lose his soul? [Matt. 16:26] It is terrible to fall into the hands of the Living God because of one's sins." [Hebr. 10:21] Then Grand Prince Riurik Rostislavich of Kiev sent a message to Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich of Vladimir, son of Dolgorukii, informing him that he would give him the cities which he desired; and he reaffirmed peace and unity with him on the Holy and Lifegiving Cross. Then Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich gave the city of Torchesk to his own son-in-law, Prince Rostislav Riurikovich [son of Riurik of Kiev], and he assigned his own namestniks in the other cities.

56. Roman Mstislavich was prince of Novgorod in 1168-1169, and from 1170 up to his death was a powerful prince of Volynia (with its capitol in Vladimir) and, from 1199, also of Galicia ("Galich"). *Hyp.* compares him in power with a lion, a leopard, even with a crocodile.

1196 But when Roman learned that Vsevolod had received his former dominions from Riurik, and had given Torchesk to his own son-in-law, Rostislav, Roman began to complain to Riurik that he had conspired with Vsevolod concerning his domain; and that he had taken his domain in order to give it to his son. And he also accused his father-in-law of trespassing his pledge on the cross. But Riurik answered him, "I gave you your domain before everyone else; but Vsevolod contacted me and became wrathful that I did not allocate him his part. I told you of all his messages and you gave your own domain up of your own volition. How was it possible not to give it to him, as without him we can do nothing. We all agreed concerning the seniority among the kin of the clan of Vladimir [Monomakh]. You are to me as my own son, and you received a domain which is equal to the earlier one."

Roman did not care for his new domain but began to complain about his father-in-law, and he no longer wanted to be in amity with him. Therefore he began to contact the Ol'govichs, and sent to Iaroslav Vsevolodich, Prince of Chernigov, and they made a mutual pledge on the cross with the intention of bringing him to Kiev against his own father-in-law. When Riurik learned that Roman had made an alliance with the Ol'govichs, and that he had recognized Iaroslav as his senior prince, he shed tears, saying, "Oh, verily! The voice of God proclaims that one's own relatives are his enemy!" Then Riurik held counsel with his kin and with his men and sent a message to Vsevolod announcing that Roman had joined the Ol'govichs and would lead them against Kiev, against the entire kin of Vladimir [Monomakh]. "Oh, brother! You are the senior of all the kin of Vladimir and you must care for the Russian land and for your and our honor." Then he sent a message to Roman, his son-in-law, exposing him and reminding him of the charter of the pledge on the cross. Fearing his father-in-law because he had broken his pledges in the charter of the cross, Roman went to Poland to the sons of King Kasimir, asking them for aid. Kasimir's sons responded, "We would be happy to help you but our uncle, Meshko, is hurting us because he wants to seize our dominions. Let us first arrange our own affairs so that we, the Poles, will not also become divided. Then we will be unanimously a shield for you and will avenge your offences."

Roman liked their advice, followed it and marched against

1196 Meshko, with the latter's nephews. Roman told his men, "In the case God helps me in this campaign, we will all be united and I will be able to regain my honor and achieve my desires." And so he went to fight Meshko. Meshko, however, sent them his envoys [to his nephews] because he did not want to fight them; also, he sent his envoy to Roman, asking him to arrange peace between him and his nephews. But Roman heeded neither him nor his own men, who wanted Roman to arrange peace. Rather, he marched with his troops against Meshko.

And so the Poles clashed with the Russians and the Poles defeated the Russians, and Meshko defeated Roman and killed many people in his Russian host, while Prince Roman, himself escaped badly hurt and wounded, to the fortress of the late King Kasimir's sons; and from thence his druzhina took him to the city of Vladimir [in Volynia]. Then he sent his envoy to Riurik, his father-in-law, greeting him and pleading with him, and accepting his own guilt. And he also sent to Metropolitan Nicephorus imploring him to intercede with his father-in-law, and he repented all his guilt. The Metropolitan intervened on his behalf with Riurik, asking the latter to accept Roman in friendship and to forgive him his guilt because he had repented and acknowledged all his fault. Grand Prince Riurik Rostislavich of Kiev followed the advice of his spiritual father, Nicephorus, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, and pardoned Roman's guilt and permitted him to reaffirm his pledge of fealty on the Holy and Lifegiving Cross; and as a domain, he gave him the town of Palona and half of the domain of Korsun'.[57]

[FEUDS OF THE OL'GOVICHS OF CHERNIGOV]

The same year[58] Grand Prince of Kiev Riurik Rostislavich sent envoys to his brother, Davyd Rostislavich, Grand Prince of Smolensk; to Vsevolod Iur'evich, Grand Prince of Vladimir and

57. *Nik.* reads, "One and a half domains of *Poloch'e Russkoe.*" A correction has been made according to *Hyp.*: *"Polonu u pol tyrtaka Korsun'skogo." Tyrtak,* or *Tretiak*: an agricultural domain cultivated according to a three-year rotation system: fall cultivation, spring cultivation, then a fallow season. The town of Palona disappeared after the Mongol invasion.

58. In 6703 (1195) in *Hyp.*

son of Dolgorukii; and also to the princes of Riazan', announcing to them all the evil machinations of the princes of Chernigov. And all of them agreed and sent their envoys to Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich of Chernigov and to all the Ol'govichs, saying, "Give us your pledge on the cross that you will not attempt to seize any domains, be they either Kiev or Smolensk, nor from our children, nor from anyone else of the entire kin of Vladimir [Monomakh], because our dominions were divided by our forefather, Great Iaroslav. The land up to the Dnieper is yours and you do not need to conspire over Kiev." **1196**

The Ol'govichs complained of Vsevolod, saying, "It was you who introduced this manner that Kiev should be under you and under your relative-in-law, Riurik [Rostislavich]; and now you want us to give up [our rights]. But we are neither Hungarians nor Poles [but Russian princes] and all of us are the descendants of the same forefathers; and we will not seek them [other lands] as long as you live; but after your death, it will be as God decides."

Those [princes, Riurik of Kiev, Vsevolod of Vladimir and Davyd of Smolensk], who had sent the message, answered, "You are too clever and want to attain your aims through cleverness." But they insisted, repeating several times what they had said, and so there was only discord.

But Vsevolod wanted to consolidate all the kin of Monomakh [the Vladimirichs] and he began to assemble troops against the Ol'govichs kin. The latter became frightened and sent their men to Vsevolod, pleading with him and accepting his will. And he, having faith in them, dismounted his horse.[59]

And they [the Ol'govichs] also sent other envoys to Riurik Rostislavich[60] telling him, "Brother! We have never had any dissension among us; therefore, if we can not come this winter to any agreement with Vsevolod [Iur'evich of Vladimir], with you, and with your brother, Davyd [Rostislavich of Smolensk], then let us not fight until we make peace with Vsevolod and Davyd. And as you are our closest kin [and neighbor], let us pledge on the cross concerning this." Riurik held counsel with his men and dispatched

59. "Dismounted his horse": that is, he decided not to campaign.

60. In *Hyp.*, it reads only "to Riurik". In *Nik.*, it reads "to Riurik Ol'govich," apparently an error, for there was not such a prince at that time.

1196 his envoy to Iaroslav [Vsevolodich of Chernigov], desiring to arrange friendship among the latter, himself, Vsevolod and Davyd. He had them pledge on the cross not to fight until a final agreement be concluded, and Riurik, himself, gave his pledge on the cross with them, disbanded his troops and sent his children to their own places. He even gave the Polovetss many gifts and allowed them to depart to their encampment. He, himself, went to Ovruch to look after his own affairs.

TREACHERY BY THE OL'GOVICH PRINCES OF CHERNIGOV

The same winter during Great Lent Iaroslav Vsevolodich, together with his brothers, the princes of Chernigov, broke their agreement and their pledges on the cross made with Riurik [of Kiev]. He had agreed with Riurik and pledged on the cross not to fight before a treaty should be concluded or before the envoys of Vsevolod [of Vladimir] and Davyd [of Smolensk] should arrive. But, not awaiting this, Iaroslav sent [Oleg Sviatoslavich], the son of his brother, to Vitebsk to fight his son-in-law, Davyd Rostislavich. At that time Riurik was not in Kiev because he had gone to Ovruch, having disbanded his men and relying on the [Ol'govichs] pledge on the cross. Before reaching Vitebsk, the Ol'govichs started campaigning in the vicinity of Smolensk.

When Davyd Rostislavich[61] heard of this he dispatched [against them] Mstislav Romanovich, his brother's son; Rostislav Vladimirich, with the latter's own troops; Prince Gleb of Riazan'; and the levies of Smolensk. On Tuesday of the second week of Lent, during the Eucharist, itself, when the two hosts drew near each other, at that time the earth and all the Kievan land trembled, and the stone and wooden churches of Kiev shook. The people, frightened, could not stand but fell down, shaking with fright. On that very day the troops of the princes of Chernigov [the Ol'govichs] and the troops of Smolensk [of Prince Davyd Rostislavich] clashed together. The Ol'govich princes carefully aligned their regiments and took up their positions, trampling down the snow, which was deep. Mstislav and his hosts came out of the forest and, seeing the enemies' regiments, did not have time to array their own troops but marched rapidly against them,

61. In *Nik.*, this reads "Davyd Ol'govich", but it should read "Davyd Rostislavich," Prince of Smolensk.

clashing with the host of Oleg Sviatoslavich [Prince of Chernigov]; **1196**
and the latter's son, Davyd, was slain. In the meantime Mikhalko, Tysiatskii of Davyd Rostislavich, together with the levies of Smolensk, were sent against the levies of Polotsk because the princes of Polotsk at that time were aiding the Ol'govichs. But the levies of Smolensk fled before encountering the enemy. The troops of Polotsk, seeing that Mstislav was overcoming Oleg, did not pursue the levies of Smolensk but turned back and attacked Mstislav's troops from the rear, and defeated them. At that time Mstislav was not with his troops because he was pursuing Oleg's troops with his vanguard. When Mstislav returned, however—thinking that he had defeated Oleg and unaware that his own troops had been defeated—he took the enemy's troops for his own, and rode into them. The soldiers of Polotsk recognized him and took him prisoner. Thereafter, Rostislav Vladimirich, the troops of Davyd Rostislavich, and Prince Gleb of Riazan', son-in-law of Davyd Rostislav—who had chased Oleg's troops for some time—returned. Seeing that their banners had been trampled by the soldiers of Polotsk, they panicked and fled to Smolensk.

When Oleg Sviatoslavich, grandson of Vsevolod [of Riazan'] saw that the soldiers of Polotsk had trampled Mstislav's banners, he returned to them. He rejoiced, seeing that Mstislav had been taken prisoner, and asked Prince Boris of Drutsk to turn him over to him. He sent a message to his uncle, Iaroslav of Chernigov, and to his kin, telling thm, "I have taken Mstislav Romanovich prisoner and I have defeated their troops." Thereupon he returned home to Chernigov, taking with him Mstislav Romanovich, the relative-in-law of Grand Prince Vsevolod.

ABOUT THE NOVGORODIANS

The same year the Novgorodians chased Prince Iaroslav [Vladimirich], relative-in-law of Vsevolod [of Vladimir]. He went to Novyi Torg and the people of Novyi Torg petitioned and accepted him as their prince. The good people of Novgorod were sorry that he left, but the evil people rejoiced at this. Then the Novgorodians sent to Chernigov to Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich to invite his son; but at that time there was a feud [between the Ol'govichs and Vladimir Monomakh's kin] and therefore Iaroslav did not send them his son, and there was no prince in Novgorod

1197 during the entire winter. In the meantime, Iaroslav ruled in Torzhok and its region and levied taxes; and he also levied taxes along the river, Msta, beyond the Volok; he levied taxes from the peasants according to his will.

THE FEUD BETWEEN RIURIK AND HIS SON-IN-LAW, ROMAN, OVER RIURIK'S DAUGHTER

In the year 6705 [1197]. Romanko [Roman] Mstislavich [of Vladimir in Volynia and Galich] decided to divorce the daughter of Riurik of Kiev, and wanted her to be tonsured a nun; but Riurik sent to Grand Prince Vsevolod, saying, "Brother and kinsman! Romanko has betrayed us. He has made an agreement and pledge on the cross with the Ol'govichs. These Ol'govichs had [earlier] pledged on the cross to me that no fighting would be initiated before an agreement should be concluded with you, me and my brother, Davyd. But they have betrayed this and have broken their pledge on the cross, and have been campaigning in the principality of Smolensk. They have also captured your relative by marriage, Mstislav Romanovich, and have taken him to Chernigov. Therefore, send them back and cast down before them their charters of pledge on the cross, and you, yourself, mount your horse.[62] And also tell the princes of Riazan' to mount their horses and to fight these enemies [the Ol'govichs], from whom we have had continually some offense."

Receiving these tidings that the Ol'govich princes [of Chernigov] had defeated the troops of Prince Davyd Rostislavich [of Smolensk], that his relative-in-law, Mstislav, had been captured, and that Roman Mstislavovich had joined them, Grand Prince Vsevolod took his time and began to assemble his troops at his leisure. The same fall the Ol'govichs sent their envoys to Grand Prince Riurik Rostislavich of Kiev, asking for peace and friendship. And Grand Prince Riurik Rostislavich made peace with the Ol'govichs not having yet received the word of Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii.

The same summer Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, marched against Chernigov to liberate his relative-in-law, Mstislav, and with him were the princes of Riazan' and Murom, and Prince Davyd of Smolensk, while Prince Riurik Rostislavich remained in

62. "Mount your horse:" that is, "Go to war."

Kiev. Grand Prince Vsevolod marched into the land of Riazan', occupied the cities of the Viatichs and devastated their land.[63] The grand prince of Chernigov with his kin were unable to resist him [Vsevolod] and sent him their envoy, bowing and petitioning for peace. And he concluded peace with them and on October sixth returned to Vladimir. **1197**

The same fall, on October seventeenth the church of the Nativity of the Holy Theotokos in Vladimir was consecrated; it was built by Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, the son of Dolgorukii. The same fall, on November tenth, they consecrated the church of holy father Joachim and the Prophetess, Anna, which had been built by Bishop John of Rostov over the gate of the Holy Theotokos.

ABOUT THE BOARD FROM THE COFFIN OF HOLY DEMETRIUS

On January tenth, the same winter, a board from the coffin of St. Demetrius was brought from Saloniki.

ABOUT THE NOVGORODIANS

The same summer Prince Iaropolk Iaroslavich came to Novgorod from Chernigov. He ruled there for six months and was cast out by the Novgorodians. Then the leading burghers of Novgorod went to get Iaroslav [Vladimirich], relative by marriage of Vsevolod, to be their prince and he accepted because they petitioned him, promising justice and honor. He came to Novgorod, ascended to that throne, and there was great love between him and the Novgorodians, and all was then good in Novgorod.[64]

The same year[65] the Novgorodians sent their envoys to Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, on behalf of posadnik Miroshka, Ivanko and Foma, because he released to them Boris Zhiroslavich and Nikifor, commander of the hundred; but he

63. The Viatichi were a Russian tribe which preserved its tribal identity into the thirteenth century. They were little influenced by Christianity or urban civilization and inhabited the forest between the upper Desna and the Oka—roughly, between Riazan', Chernigov and Smolensk.

64. Iaroslav Vladimirich was invited and then cast out of Novgord, in the year 6704 (1196), and earlier in 6687 (1179).

65. In 6704 in *Novg. III.*

1197 kept Miroshka, the Novgorodian posadnik, Ivanko and Foma, and the Novgorodians were very sorry about Miroshka.

The same year Grand Prince of Vladimir Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, marched against Chernigov, and with him were the princes of Riazan', Murom, Smolensk and Kiev, and multitude of Polovetss. He also took with him the Novgorodian posadnik, Miroshka, Ivanko and Foma; and he ordered the Novgorodians to march to Luki. They marched [under the command of] his relative by marriage, their Prince Iaroslav Vladimirich, whilst Vsevolod Iur'evich invaded the principality of Chernigov, causing much harm there. The princes of Chernigov brought to their aid also some Polovetsian khans and a large Polovetsian force, and with them marched against him. There was nearly a battle between them, but Lord God prevented greater bloodshed and they concluded peace amongst them. The Novgorodians decided to have their choice of princes becuase Novgorod is free, and from whencesoever they want a prince, from thence they will get him. Vsevolod Iur'evich permitted Foma to go to Novgorod, but he kept Miroshka and Ivanko with him. The Novgorodians became very angry with Vsevolod Iur'evich because they disliked what he did to posadnik Miroshka and to Ivanko.

[*In the year 6704 (1196) in Laur. and Novg. Syn.*] The same year the Novgorodians cast out from Novgorod [for the third time] their prince, Iaroslav Vladimirich, relative-in-law of Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich; he went to Novyi Torg and was accepted by the people of Novyi Torg. And so Prince Iaroslav Vladimirich, relative-in-law of Vsevolod became prince of Novyi Torg, and he imposed taxes on the entire region, on the upper river Msta, and beyond the Volok.[66] [As reprisal] Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, caught these Novgorodians who were beyond the Volok and in his whole land, and he kept them in Vladimir.

[*In the year 6704 (1196) in Novg. III.*] The same year the Novgorodians sent their envoy to Chernigov, to Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich of Chernigov, asking him to send his son to be their prince in Novgorod. The same year Prince Iaropolk Iaroslavich

66. This text is very close to the text under the year 1196; but Prince Iaroslav was cast out by Novgorod on several occasions and on several occasions he settled in Novyi Torg.

[son of the prince of Chernigov] went thither to be prince. The Novgordians received him honorably and all were happy.[67] 1198

In the year 6706 [1198].[68] Grand Prince of Smolensk, Davyd Rostislavich, took the angelic [monastic] order and after awhile he passed away in the holy angelic monastic order. After him, Mstislav [Romanovich], his brother's son, ascended to the throne of the grand principality of Vladimir.

The same year[69] on the twenty-second day of the month of August, a son, Ivan, was born to Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich.

The same year Paul was consecrated bishop of Pereiaslavl'-Russkii. He was a very quiet, meek and humble man.

The same year Martyrius, lord and archbishop of Novgorod, built himself a monastery, where he erected a church of the Holy Transfiguration of Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ.

In the year 6707 [1199]. Grand Prince Vladimir, Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, together with his son, Konstantin, marched against the Polovetss. When the latter heard of this, they fled to the sea. Vsevolod Iur'evich marched to their winter encampments and along the river Don, but did not find them and returned to Vladimir.

The same year Prince Iaroslav Mstislavich, son of the brother of Vsevolod Iur'evich, died in Pereiaslavl' Russkii.

The same year[70] the Novgorodians cast out from Novgorod their prince, Iaropolk, son of Iaroslav, grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Oleg, gr. gr. grandson of Sviatoslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir. And he went to Chernigov to his father, Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich.

The same year on the twenty-fifth day of the month of June there was a conflagration in the city of Vladimir, and the greater part of the city burned.

The same year[71] the Novgorodians took as their prince Prince Iaroslav Vladimirich, relative-in-law of Vsevolod, to rule over

67. Repetition of the text found under the year 1197/1205.
68. In the year 6705 (1197) in *Hyp.*
69. In 6705 (1197) in *Hyp.*
70. In 6705, in *Novg. III.*
71. In 6705, in *Novg. Syn.*

1200 them in Novgorod.[72]

The same year[73] Prince Iaroslav Vladimirich, grandson of Mstislav, laid the foundation of the church of the Holy Savior in Nereditsa. Orefa laid the foundation of the stone church of the Holy Prophet Elias in Kholm, while Polazhai built a church in the monastery of St. Euthemius. The same year the princess, wife of Iaroslav, built a church to the Most Pure Theotokos in Mikhalitsa. The same year[74] two sons of Prince Iaroslav Vladimirich died: Iziaslav, who was assigned as prince in Luki, the Novgorodian stronghold against Lithuania—where he died; and Rostislav, who died in Novgorod. And they both were buried in the monastery of St. George.

In the year 6708 [1200].[75] Grand Prince of Chernigov, Iaroslav Vsevolodich, grandson of Oleg, great grandson of Sviatoslav, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, passed away. His sons were Rostislav and Iaropolk.

The same year Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, with the blessing of his spiritual father, John, Bishop of Rostov, Suzdal' and Vladimir, laid the foundation of the stone church of the Assumption fo the Most Pure Theotokos in the monastery of the princess.

The same year[76] the Novgorodians began to deliberate how to cast out thir prince, Iaroslav Vladimirich, from Novgorod. Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, sent for him and he went to him in Vladimir.

The same winter[77] on the twenty fourth day of December there was a portent on the moon, and the next morning a relative by marriage of Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, the wife of Prince Iaroslav Vladimirich [formerly of Nov-

72. Apparently this was the fourth invitation extended to Prince Iaroslav Vladimirich by Novgorod. According to *Novg. Syn.* he was invited to Novgorod and ruled there on at least four occasions: 1178; 1182-1184; 1187-1196; and, finally, 1197-1199.

73. In 6705 (1197) in *Novg. Syn.*

74. In 6706 in *Novg. Syn.*

75. In 6706 (1198), in *Hyp.*

76. In 6707 (1199) in *Novg. Syn.*

77. In 6709 (1201) in *Laur.*

gorod] passed away. She was buried in her sister's monastery of the Most Pure Theotokos. **1201**

The same year[78] the Novgorodians sent their archbishop, lord Martyrius, and their posadnik Miroshka and their leading burghers to Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, asking him to send his son to rule over them in Novgorod. On the twenty fourth day of the month of August when they had gone as far as Lake Seleger, his holiness Martyrius, servant of God, archbishop and lord of Novgorod, passed away. He was taken to Novgorod and was buried in the side narthex of the cathedral of Holy Sophia; he had been archbishop for six years. Then the best men, with posadnik Miroshka and Mikhalko, went to Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, and he gave them his son, Sviatoslav, to rule over them in Novgorod. The same year[79] the Novgorodians laid the foundation of a stone church of the Forty Martyrs. The same year[80] Prince Sviatoslav, son of Vsevolod Iur'evich Dolgorukii, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, great grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, began to rule in Novgorod. The same year the Novgorodians fortified the city of Rusa.[81] The same year the Lithuanians took the town of Lovot'. The Novgorodians took them and there was a fierce battle and the Novgorodians took back part of the captives.[82]

In the year 6709 [1201]. Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, sent his son, Iaroslav, to be prince of Pereiaslavl' Russkii: he was accompanied by his brothers, Konstantin, Iurii and Vladimir.[83]

The same year the grand prince of Chernigov, Vladimir Sviatoslavich[84] passed away. The same year Metrophanes went to Russia to the Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia to be consec-

78. In 6707 (1199) in *Novg. Syn.*

79. In 6707 (1199) in *Novg. Syn.*

80. In 6707 (1199) in *Novg. Syn.*

81. This last sentence appears only in the *Laptev ms.* of *Nik.*, and *Novg. Syn.* Not in *Laur.*

82. Also in the year 6708 (1200) in *Novg. Syn.*

83. In the year 6708 (1200) in *Laur.*

84. In *Nik.*, Vladimir Sviatoslavich was erroneously called Vladimir Vsevolodich.

1201 rated bishop of Novgorod. He was accompanied by the posadnik and leading burghers of Novgorod, and he was consecrated on the third day of the month of June; and he came to Novgorod.

The same year Fevroniia, wife of Prince Mikhail, passed away and was buried in the church of the Most Pure Theotokos in Suzdal'.

In the same year[85] the church of the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos was consecrated by John, Bishop of Rostov, Suzdal' and Vladimir. This church was built by the grand princess, wife of Vsevolod, in her own monastery.

The same year[86] Eufrosiniia, wife of Prince Boris, passed away in Kideshki, and she was buried in the church of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb near her father and mother.

[ROMAN OF GALICH TAKES KIEV]

The same year[87] Grand Prince of Kiev, Riurik Rostislavich, rose up against Grand Prince Roman Mstislavich of Galich [and Volynia] and brought to his aid to Kiev the Ol'govich princes [of Chernigov] and began to assemble forces. When Grand Prince Roman Mstislavich of Galich learned of this, he hurried forward, assembling many troops from Galich and Vladimir [in Volynia] and sent for aid to Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii. And so he marched rapidly into the Russian land.[88] The levies of Vladimir [in Volynia], the Chernye Klobuki [the Black Cowls] and the Mandriks[89] abandoned Grand Prince Riurik Rostislavich of Kiev, assembled and joined the forces of Grand Prince Roman Mstislavich of Galich. Also, from all people, from all those cities of Kiev, people joined Grand Prince Roman Mstislavich of Galich. And so, with all these forces, Roman Mstislavich, Grand Prince of Galich, hurried secretly to the city of Kiev. The Kievans stealthily opened the Podol Gate in the Kopyr section, and so Grand Prince Roman Mstislavich of Galich entered Kiev, and he

85. In 6710 (1202) in *Laur.*

86. In 6710 (1202) in *Laur.*

87. In 6710 (1202) in *Laur.*

88. Here, "the Russian land" again designates strictly the region of Kiev and Pereiaslavl'.

89. Mandriks are mentioned neither in *Hyp.* nor in *Laur.* It is possible that they were another Turkic tribe, like the *Chernye Klobuki.*

sent his envoys to the upper city of Kiev to Grand Prince Riurik **1202**
Rostislavich of Kiev, to the Ol'govich princes and to Volodimirko. And so he brought all of them to pledge on the cross: Riurik Rostislavich, the Ol'govichs and Volodimirko. He let Riurik go to Ovruch and he let the Ol'govichs go beyond the Dnieper to Chernigov; and he assigned to the grand principality of Kiev Prince Ingvar, son of Iaroslav, grandson of Iziaslav, great grandson of Mstislav, gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Iaroslav, and gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir. The same year the Polovetss raided Russia, causing much harm, and then they retreated. Prince Roman Mstislavich, himself, marched against them. When the Polovetss retreated to the prairie, they became careless and Roman Mstislavich struck them unexpectedly and took back the captives and killed many Polovetss, and returned joyfully home.

In the year 6710 [1202]. Igor Sviatoslavich, Grand Prince of Chernigov, passed away.

ABOUT THE PORTENTS

The same winter there were many portents in the skies. At the fifth hour of the night the entire sky moved and it became red as blood and it looked as if the snow on the ground and on the buildings was covered with spilled blood; many saw the stars move in the skies. And stars fell from the sky to the earth. Seeing this, people became terrified, believing it was the end of the world; because when there are portents in the sky, in the stars, on the sun, on the moon or anywhere else, then no good, but only bad, will occur. These bad portents are manifested with the purpose that people forsake evil and return to the Lord God and repent. Such portents foretell hunger, death, invasion by enemies, or fratricidal feuds and wars.

[RIURIK RETAKES KIEV]

The same winter Grand Prince Riurik Rostislavich of Kiev, desiring to get back Kiev, joined the Ol'govichs [of Chernigov], took the Polovetsian khans as aid and summoned all the Polovetsian land: so he came with great forces, and the great and glorious city of Kiev was taken by Riurik, by the Ol'govich princes and by

1203 the entire Polovetsian land. And such great evil occurred in the Russian land as had not been since the Christianization of Kiev. There were many misfortunes, occupations by the enemy, which befell it but never such misfortune as happened now. Not only did they burn the Podol and the upper city, but they [Polovetss and Ol'govichs] robbed the metropolitan cathedral of Holy Sophia, the holy church of the Tithes of the Theotokos, and all the monasteries; they seized all jewels from the icons and they stole others, and venerable crosses and sacred vessels and books and costly vestments of the first princes, which hung in the holy churches as mementos of them. And all this they took as bounty. Old monks and nuns, priests, the blind, lame and deaf, the handicapped—all were massacred. And those who were young were taken captive by the aliens [Polovetss] and they took them to their encampments. Then the princes of Chernigov went to Chernigov, and Riurik Rostislavich went to Ovruch.

[RIURIK BREAKS HIS ALLIANCE WITH THE OL'GOVICHS]

The same year [In the year 6711 (1203) in *Laur.*] Roman Mstislavich, son-in-law of Riurik, Grand Prince of Galich, went to Ovruch to his father-in-law, Riurik Rostislavich, and forced him to break his alliance with the Ol'govich princes of Chernigov and with the Polovetss; and Riurik gave his oath on the cross to Grand Prince Vsevolod and to the latter's son, Konstantin, and to their brothers, and to Roman. And Roman told him, "Since you have given your oath on the cross, send your envoys to your relative-in-law, Grand Prince Vsevolod, as I am sending them to him. He is your father and your lord, and we will pray him that he return Kiev to you." He contacted Grand Prince Vsevolod Iurievich, son of Dolgorukii, and put Prince Riurik Rostislavich back on the throne of the grand principality of Kiev.

In the year 6711 [1203].[90] Grand Prince of Vladimir, Vsevolod Iurievich, son of Dolgoruikii, and Grand Prince of Galich, Roman Mstislavich, negotiated with the Ol'govich princes of Chernigov, and they agreed on peace and friendship and confirmed unity with an oath on the cross. Then Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich sent his boyar, Mikhail Borisovich, to have the Ol'govichs make a pledge on the cross, and the Ol'govichs also sent their boiars to

90. In 6712 (1204) in *Laur.*

Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, and had him make an oath on the cross. And also Roman Mstislavich of Galich gave them [the Ol'govichs] his oath on the cross, while they gave an oath on the cross to Roman Mstislavich. And so it became quiet and peaceful, but not for long. **1203**

ABOUT THE PORTENT

The same winter there were portents in the sky. There were three suns in the east and a fourth in the west. In the middle of the sky was a great moon which looked like a bow. This portent stayed from morning till midday, and all the people beheld it and wondered.

The same winter Riurik Rostislavich, Grand Prince of Kiev; his son-in-law, Roman Mstislavich, Grand Prince of Galich; Iurii Vsevolodich of Pereiaslavl', grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii; and other princes marched against the Polovetss. It was an extremely severe winter then and the Polovetss greatly suffered from cold. The Russian princes occupied their encampments, took their herds and a large number of captives and returned home. Grand Prince Riurik Rostislavich of Kiev returned with his children, Rostislav and Vladimir, to the city of Trepol'e, and with him was his son-in-law, Roman Mstislavich of Galich. They wanted to decide amongst them who had done more for the Russian land.[91] But a great argument arose among them and Grand Prince Roman Mstislavich of Galich arrested his father-in-law, Grand Prince Riurik Rostislavich of Kiev, sent him to Kiev and had him tonsured as a monk. And so did he to the latter's wife and daughter, who was his own wife; and to the latter's sons, who were his brothers-in-law. And he took with him to Galich [Riurik's sons] Prince Rostislav and Prince Vladimir.

The same summer the princes Ol'govich defeated the Lithuanians and killed 1,000 and 700 of them.

When Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich heard about what had occurred in the Russian land, he became very saddened about his relative-in-law, Grand Prince Riurik Rostislavich of Kiev, and the latter's children and about his son-in-law, Rostislav Riurikovich. And he wanted to avenge them but he did not do so for the sake of Christians. And he sent his envoy to Prince Roman

91. And who should thus receive the greater booty.

1204 Mstislavich of Galich, asking him to release his son-in-law, Rostislav, together with the latter's brother, Vladimir Riurikovich. Roman listened to Grand Prince Vsevolod and released the latter's son-in-law, Rostislav, and his brother, Vladimir. And then Grand Prince Vsevolod put his son-in-law, Rostislav, on the throne of Kiev.

The same year Grand Prince Roman Mstislavich of Galich sent to Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich asking for peace and friendship and saying, "I have released your son-in-law, Rostislav Riurikovich, and I agreed on peace and friendship with him; and now he is on his father's throne in the grand principality of Kiev. Because of friendship with you, not only have I forbidden him nothing but I even assisted and aided him." And so there was great quietude, peace and friendship between them.

In the year 6712 [1204]. Oleg Sviatoslavich, Grand Prince of Chernigov, passed away.

PORTENT

The same year there were portents in the sky, on the sun and on the moon.

SEIZURE OF GOD-PROTECTED CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE FRANKS[92]

In the year 6712 [1204]. In Constantinople Emperor Alexis [III] overthrew his brother, Isaac [II], and blinded him; and he imprisoned the latter's son, Alexis, under guard behind high walls so that he would not be able to get out. And he, himself, became emperor. After a certain time, Isaac dared to pray for his son so that the latter be released from the fortress. Isaac convinced his

92. The taking of Constantinople in 1204 by the participants of the Fourth Crusade was a tragic event which finally led to the disintegration of Byzantium and to the Turkish conquest of southeastern Europe. The reigning Byzantine dynasty of the Angeli, also, were responsible for it. In 1185 Isaac Angelus dethroned Andronicus I, the last of the Comnene dynasty, who died after atrocious torture. Ten years later, Isaac II's brother, Alexis Angelus (1195-1203) imprisoned and blinded his brother and became emperor, known as Alexis III Angelus. Isaac's son, also called Alexis, with the help of the Pope and leaders of the Fourth Crusade, convinced Venetians, who owned the fleet of the Crusade, to sail for Constantinople instead of Egypt. Arriving there he overthrew his uncle with the help of the Crusaders, and became co-emperor (Alexis

brother, who accepted Isaac's son's promise not to attempt to be- **1204**
come emperor. And so he was released and lived according to his own will, and Emperor Alexis cared for him, believing his brother Isaac and his son because he accepted the latter's pledge. But then Isaac reconsidered and again desired to become emperor and he instructed his son, saying, "I have done much good to my brother, Alexis. I ransomed him from the pagans but he paid me with evil. He blinded me and seized my empire." His son, being now taught, began to ponder how to escape from the city to distant lands and from thence to take back the empire. He was taken to a ship and put in a barrel which had three bottoms on one end, on which Isaac's son sat. On the other end of the barrel was water and a nail in the bottom. He did in such manner because otherwise he could not have gotten out of the city and escaped from the Greek land. When the emperor learned of this he sent looking for him, and they started searching for him in many places; and they came to the ship were Isaac's son was. They searched everywhere and pulled the nail from the barrel and, seeing the flowing water, they went further, not finding anything. And so Isaac's son escaped and came to the German Emperor Philip,[93] his brother-in-law, and to his sister. And the German emperor sent to the Pope [Innocent III] of Rome, asking him not to conquer Constantinople [but to help Isaac], because, said Isaac, "Everyone in Constantinople wants me to be emperor." The Pope of Rome sent him [to the Crusaders], saying, "If they really want him, put him on the throne and then he will go to Jerusalem with the auxiliary army.

IV), reigning with his father. His friendship with and concessions to the Franks led to a popular revolt and both Alexis IV and Isaac II were assassinated. The leader of the revolt—known as Alexis V Dukas Mourzouphes—became emperor but the maddened Crusaders stormed the city and proclaimed their—a Latin—empire. In *Nik.* there are two reports dealing with this event. One was written by a Novgorodian who witnessed the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders and was preserved in the *Novgorodian Chronicle.* The other version was taken from a South Slavic chronograph *via* the Russian *Chronograph* of 1512. They are rather similar in content and we provide here the Novgorodian version, which is more extensive.

93. The German king—not emperor—Philip of Swabia was at that time struggling with another pretender to the throne, Otto of Braunschweig. Philip was married to the daughter of Isaac II.

1204 And if they do not want him, then bring him to me; but do no harm to the Greek land." The Franks, however, and their commander liked gold and silver, which was promised them by Isaac. They forgot the instructions of the emperor and of the Pope not to do any harm to the Greek land, and as soon as they came to the Bosphorus they forced the iron chains [which closed the entrance to the Bosphorus] and besieged the city. They set fire in four places in the churches.

When Empreror Alexis saw the fire he did not fight them but called his brother, Isaac, whom he had blinded, and put him on the throne, saying, "Brother! Although I did such harm to you, forgive me and it will be your empire." Then he fled from the city.[94]

The entire city was burned, including indescribable beautifully adorned churches whose number we even do not know; and even the narthex of Holy Sophia, where all the patriarchs were painted in frescoes, burned. And the Hippodrome and everything up to the sea, as far as the emperor's palace and the Bosphorus. And so everything burned. So the son of Isaac, together with the Franks, chased Emperor Alexis [III] but did not catch up with him and returned to the city. He cast his father from the throne and he, himself, became emperor, telling his father, "Since you are blind, how can you rule over the empire? I am the emperor." Thereafter Emperor Isaac grieved greatly over the city, over his empire, over the robbed monasteries and all the silver and gold which he had promised and given to the Franks. And he became ill and took the monastic tonsure and departed this world.

After Isaac's death the people rebelled against his son because of the burning of the city and robbing of the monasteries. The rabble assembled and joined with good men deliberating whom to make emperor. Everyone wanted Radinos but he did not want to rule and hid from them, donning black vestments. Then they caught his wife and took her into the great cathedral of Holy Sophia and insisted greatly, "Tell where your husband is." But she said nothing about her husband. Then they caught a man named Nicholas, who was a warrior, and in the absence of the patriarch they put on him the crown of the emperor, and they remained

94. Actually, he escaped with the treasury and imperial jewels, while the populace liberated Isaac.

with him in Holy Sophia for six days and six nights. In the mean- **1204**
time, the emperor [Alexis IV], son of Isaac, remained in the monastery of Blachernae[95] and wanted to bring the Franks and their lords into the city; but his courtiers petitioned the emperor not to let the Franks in, saying, "We are with you." The members of the court, however, became afraid that the Franks would enter the city and they conspired with Mourtzouphlos, arrested the emperor, the son of Isaac, and crowned Mourtzouphlos [as Emperor Alexis V]. It is said that Isaac's son [Alexis IV] released Mourtzouphlos from prison with the promise not to attempt to become emperor as long as Isaac's son was emperor, and to care for the empire under him.

Mourtzouphlos sent them to Nicholas and to the people who were in Holy Sophia, saying, "I caught your enemy, Isaac's son, and I have become your emperor [Alexis V] and I will give Nicholas the first place among the boiars." And so Nicholas put down his crown, but the people did not allow him to take off the crown, and swore, "Whosoever gives up Nicholas will be anathematized."

That night when all had gone home Mourtzouphlos arrested Nicholas and his wife and put them in prison; and he also put Alexis [IV], son of Isaac, into a dungeon. And so this Mourtzouphlos, himself, became emperor, with the hope of massacring the Franks. The Franks, however, learning that he had arrested Isaac's son and had begun fighting around Constantinople, asked Mourtzouphlos to release Isaac's son: "We will return to the German emperor and to the Pope of Rome from whence we were sent and we will leave the empire to you." But Mourtzouphlos and all the boiars did not let him live, and put him to death, telling the Franks, "He [Alexis IV] has died. Come and see." Then the Franks became very saddened because of all their crimes, because they had not been instructed to behave in such a way by the German emperor or the Pope of Rome, and because they had caused misfortune to Constantinople; and so, after deliberating, they decided, "Since we no longer have the son of Isaac with whom we came hither, it would be better to die at [the walls of] Constantinople than to go away fearfully and in shame."

95. Blachernae: the imperial residence, monastery and famous church near the northwestern shore of the Bosphorus.

1204 So they started to fight against Constantinople. From that moment they began preparing their attack on Constantinople; on some ships they put scaling logs with crossbeams, on others they installed scaling ladders and mangonels, and on some they hung water barrels filled with resins, to which they attached slow matches. Setting fire to the latter, they sent them against the city and the buildings, and in this manner they burned the city. They stormed it on April ninth but did not succeed in the least. About a hundred Frankish men were killed; and so the Franks remained [before the city] for three days. On Monday before Palm Sunday, when the sun began to rise they resumed storming the city, at the place near the church of St. Saviour called Bergetis and went as far as Blachernae. They started the attack from forty large ships; but between them they constructed platforms, on which were mounted horsemen in armour, and even their horses were in armour. Others stood behind on the ships and galleys, fearing the Greek fire[96] because earlier the Greeks launched Greek fire against ten Frankish ships; but at that time, on St. Basil's day toward midnight, the weather and the direction of the wind changed and they did not succeed in the least in burning the Frankish ships, as they had been instructed by Isaac's son.

Now the Frankish ships were carried by the wind against the city walls, and their storming ladders were higher than the city walls while the shorter ladders were level with the top of the battlements. From the high storming ladders of the ships they threw stones above the Greek and Varangian stones, arrows and maces. With the shorter storming ladders they entered the city, and in this way they took Constantinople. Emperor Mourtzouphlos encouraged his boiars and his men and wanted to fight the Franks, but they did not heed him and fled from him. Then the emperor [Alexis V Mourtzouphlos] also fled from the Franks and caught up with his soldiers at the horsemarket, complaining greatly about his boiars and his men. Then the emperor escaped from the city with the patriarch and all the people. The Franks entered the city and occupied the place where the Greek emperor had resided.

When the sun rose they entered Holy Sophia, broke down the

96. Greek fire: a now unknown compound used to set fire to ships, which burned even floating on the water.

doors and hacked the silver-inlaid tribune, as well as the twelve **1204**
silver pillars and the four pillars with icons, and the icons and cross located above the iconostasis. And they pulled down twelve crosses which were over the altar, and between them were [silver] cones which looked like the cones of a tree, and they were higher than a man. They tore them down, as well as the walls of the altar between the pillars, all this being made of silver. They tore down everything from the beautiful altar table: gems, great pearls, and no one knew what they did with the altar table, itself. And they took forty mitres which were before the altar, and the thurifers, and the candelabras, and all this was made of silver. We can not even ascertain the number of them. They took the priceless church vessels which were used only on holidays, the Gospels, the venerable crosses, priceless icons; and under the altar table they found the treasury—forty barrels filled with gold. In the choir, on the walls, in the sacristy they found an unknown amount of silver, gold, priceless vessels whose number I do not know, and all this I have told only about [what happened] in Holy Sophia.

They also robbed the church of the Holy Theotokos in Blachernae, in which the Holy Ghost descended every Friday. And no one knows how many other churches [they robbed], and they were numberless. The beautiful icon of the Holy Theotokos of Hadigitria, which was carried during processions through the city, was preserved by good people and it is still there and we rely upon it. And other churches within the city and outside the city, as well as the monasteries—all were robbed, and no one knows their number or is able to describe their beauty. And they killed a great multitude of people, robbed and chased away the Greeks and the Varangians from the city. And those who still remained there were chased from it.[97]

And these were the names of the Frankish commanders: Markus from Rome, from the city of Berne, in which the pagan and evil Dedrick once lived; Kondolf of Flanders; the blind Doge from the island of Markos.[98]

97. Villardouin in his *Memoirs of the Crusade,* N.Y., 1958, writes that "the booty was so great that none knew the end of it: gold and silver, vessels and precious stones, samite, silk, ermine, and the choicest things to be found in the world."

98. The real names of these three leaders were Marquis Boniface of

1204 This Doge was blinded by Emperor Manuel. Many philosophers prayed the emperor to let this Doge go in good health although he had committed much evil in his kingdom. The emperor, however, did not want to kill him but ordered that his eyes be blinded with glass. And so his eyes were not destroyed but he could not see anything. This Doge planned many wars against Constantinople and everyone obeyed him and his ships were very large; and from these ships Constantinople was taken.

The Franks remained at Constantinople from December to April, until they took the city. On May ninth they elected a Latin emperor, a Count of Flanders, who was crowned by their bishops, and he partitioned his domain.[99] The emperor received the city; Mark, the judiciary; and the Doge received the tithes. Thus perished the God protected empire of the city of Constantinople, and the entire Greek land, because of the feud between the emperors. And now the Franks have possession of it.

ABOUT THE ICON OF THE MOST PURE HADIGITRIA IN CONSTANTINOPLE[100]

The icon of the Holy Theotokos in Hadigitria was painted by Evangelist Luke and it was carried every Sunday during the procession of the monastery, and causes many miracles: to this day those who come to Her with faith are cured. Once a caloyer prayed at length to the Holy Theotokos: "Lady! Show me how You were when You were in the flesh!" And a voice was addressed to him: "Go," said the voice, "into the church of the Apostles and you will find me painted in the icon near the Cross as I appeared when I was in the flesh." When there was the iconoclastic movement in Constantinople, they took the icon of the Holy Theotokos into the monastery of the Pantocrat and they walled it into the altar wall and they put a light before it and they kept the

Montferrat; Count Baldwin of Flanders and Hainault, who was elected emperor; and the Doge of Venice, whose name was Henry Dandolo. "The Island of Markos" is Venice with the Cathedral of St. Mark.

99. The Byzantine guard was composed of Varangians—the Greek and Russian word for Scandinavian Viking. In 1204 the guard consisted of Danes and Anglo Saxons.

100. *Hadigitria*—in Greek, "She who points the way [of Salvation]," was the most ancient icon of the Holy Virgin with Christ. On it the Holy Virgin points to Christ as the way of salvation.

icon this way in Constantinople for sixty years. Then Orthodoxy **1205**
rose again and they searched for the icon of the Holy Theotokos and the Patriarch ordered that all hermits and all in the monasteries pray. Once a hermit had a vision while sleeping. He was told, "Look for the Holy Icon of the Theotokos in the monastery of Pantocrat and you will find it because the light has not been extinguished for sixty years, not since the time it was first lit." And the Orthodox had very great joy over the Icon of the Holy Theotokos. The kin of Luke[1] still perform the service to this icon up to this day. The same year the Pope sent his priests from Rome to Constantinople, and he took Greek priests from Constantinople to Rome.[2]

[EVENTS IN SUZDALIA AND NOVGOROD]

In the same year[3] the cathedral church of the Most Pure Theotokos in Rostov collapsed. The same year Prince Vladimir Iur'evich of Murom passed away. The same year Princess Helen, daughter of Vsevolod, passed away and was buried in the church of the Most Pure Theotokos in the monastery constructed by the grand princess, wife of Vsevolod.

In the year 6713 [1205][4] Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich son of Dolgorukii, took back from Novgorod his son, Sviatoslav. The Novgorodians wanted to cast him out of Novgorod because Prince Sviatoslav was still very young. Little by little, Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich agreed with them and the Novgorodians asked him to give them as prince his son, Prince Konstantin. And he gave him to them. Konstantin Vsevolodich received the blessing and instructions from his mother, Maria, and went to Novgorod. His brothers, Iurii and Vladimir, and all his father's boiars ac-

1. Kin of Luke: here are probably meant the iconographers who paint the icon of the Theotokos, using Luke's icon as the canonic prototype.

2. On pages 42-47 of Volume IX of *PSRL* there follows the genealogy of Serbian despots and the life of the first Serbian archbishop, St. Savva. This text is not original Russian but South Slavic. It entered the *Nikonian Chronicle* via the South Slavic *Chronograph* and the Russian *Chronograph* of 1512, and does not provide any material on Russian history, so it has been omitted here.

3. In 6712 (1204).

4. In 6714 (1206) in *Laur.*

1205 companied him with honor up to the river Kideshka, and he came to Novgorod on the twentieth of the month of March.

[THE DEATH OF VSEVOLOD'S WIFE AND HER INSTRUCTION]

The same year the grand princess, wife of Vsevolod, named Maria after being tonsured a nun, passed away. She was buried in her own monastery in the church of the Most Pure Theotokos, which she built, herself. She did this after the example of great Abraham, and bought, paying the price for a piece of land for the purpose of building the church and a monastery, in which she was buried. She was afflicted with a disease and remained ill seven years; but she never spoke a bad word, withal gratefully withstood grief and great need, remembering the just Job. When we are granted good from God's hands, we can not tolerate any evil. She suffered seven years from grave illness; and she became a nun and remained eighteen days in the monastery, and passed away in peace on the nineteenth of the month of March. Before she died, she instructed her sons, telling them the following:

"My beloved children! I am departing this shortly-lived world for my forefathers, but you will still remain in this quickly passing life. Have faith and love for God and His Most Pure Mother Theotokos, and endeavor to develop in yourselves awe toward God, and do not avoid the bishops, priests and entire clergy; and do not be too proud to bow your heads [to them] because they are the servants of the Very God and Most Pure Theotokos, and the shepherds of speaking herds of sheep. One who reveres a priest of God reveres God, Himself; and one who hurts a priest of God hurts God, Himself. Respect all the monks and provide them with all their needs; and when you encounter a priest, always bow to him; be always quiet, meek and humble, and have love and mercy; feed the hungry and give the thirsty to drink; clothe the naked and visit the ill, and keep yourselves in purity and always give alms. And this will place you before God. Have regard for and pay attention to any man. Love one another, and God will be with you and prevent you from all evil, and will submit your enemies under your feet. But if you persevere in hatred, feuds and intrigues among yourselves, you will perish and will ruin the land of your fathers and grandfathers, which they gained through their great labor and sweat. Therefore abide in peace and in love

among yourselves; one brother should heed another. And have **1205**
your senior brother, Konstantin, as your father and head. And you, my senior son, Konstantin, consider your brothers as your children and love them as if they were born from you. And remember St. John the Evangelist, who said, 'If a man says, I will love God, but hateth his brother, he is a liar. Abide in love, for Love is God. By abiding in love, you abide in God and God abides with you.'" [John I, 4:20, 8, paraphrased.][5]

Prince Konstantin, her senior son, hearkened to her instruction with great sweetness and he imbibed it just as a sponge absorbs water, listening to what proceeded from her lips and keeping her words in his heart. From a blessed root issues blessed fruit; it was in the same way that great Constantine was born from St. Helen, and Emperor Michael from the blessed Theodora. So this new blessed Helen and new Theodora with her son, Konstantin Vsevolodich, also imitated the blessed Ol'ga and all other blessed women whose children were brought up in the piety and law of Christ and who grew up and were instructed in booklearning and knowledge of the Commandments of God. And so, particularly, did her senior son, Konstantin, who became adult not only in body but also in spiritual wisdom.

When he had to go to Novgorod to rule there, being sent thither by his father, he went to his mother, who—as I said—had lain greatly ill for seven years, and received her blessing, and went to Novgorod. Being in Novgorod, he received the tidings that his mother had died after becoming a nun, and he wept bitterly and shed tears, saying, "Woe is me! Of what wealth have I been deprived, not being able to arrange with my own hand the holy body of my mother and place it in the tomb." And he greatly lamented because he was loved by her.

The same year Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich sent a host by boat against the Bulgars of the Volga and the Kama. They went on the Volga as far as Khomol, took many prisoners and slew others; and they destroyed many river boats with merchandise and seized much ware, and returned home.

The same year Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dol-

5. There is not such an instruction in *Laur.* or *Novg. Syn.* Some features of this instruction especially the conclusion remind us of Iziaslav I's Encomium from the year 1078.

1205 gorukii, married his son, Iaroslav. He brought to him in Pereiaslavl' as a wife the daughter of Iurii, granddaughter of Khan Konchak.[6]

[DEATH OF ROMAN AND THE STRUGGLE FOR GALICH]

The same year[7] Grand Prince Roman Mstislavich of Galich [and Volynia] fought against the Poles and took two cities, and camped at the Visla river; camping there, he became careless and went with a small guard away off from his host. The Poles encountered him, attacked and killed him. He was buried in the church of the Most Pure Theotokos in Galich. [The people of Galich] pledged to his son [Daniil] on the cross to abide in peace and friendship with him and he ascended to the throne of his father.

The same year Prince Riurik Rostislavich put away his vestments of monk [thus defrocking himself] and allowed himself to be untonsured. He did so after hearing of the death of Roman, and so he ascended to the grand principality of Kiev.

He also wanted his wife to be untonsured, but she did not so wish—to the contrary, she put on herself the *Schema*[8] saying, "Our soul is the most important and we should care for it and think of it because God said, 'What is the use to a man if he gain the whole world but therein lose his soul?' [Matt. 16:26] And how can the betrayal of one's own soul serve a man?"

Grand Prince Riurik Vsevolodich sent to Chernigov to the Ol'govichs princes and took an oath on the cross with them concerning peace, unity and friendship; and he called for the Polovetss to come and began a war against Galich. When the king [of Hungary] heard about this he sent his army to Galich to aid Prince Daniil Romanovich. In the meantime the Poles moved into the land of Galich and fortified towns, putting their men there

6. Apparently this Iurii—who had a Christian, and not Polovetsian name, "Iurii" being "George"—was the son of the famous Khan Konchak and, like several other Polovetsian khans of that time, already had become Christian.

7. In 6714 (1206) in *Laur.* 6709 (1201) in *Hyp. As in Troits., Simeon.* and *Vlad.* but 6714 (1206) and even 6709 (1201) in *Hyp. The chronology of Hyp.* differs greatly with the chronology of neartheastern chronicles for events in the Galich land.

8. *Schema* is the second, and strictest, degree of monastic vows.

because Prince Daniil Romanovich was very young. They came with great forces to the city of Galich, besieged the city and fought fiercely. The burghers of the city fought them back and many fell on both sides; and so they besieged the city for a long time but were unable to take it. They burned the domains and the towns and took many captives, then returned home. **1206**

[OL'GOVICHS AGAINST DANIIL OF GALICH]

In the year 6714 [1206]. All the princes of Russia assembled [their armies]:[9] the Ol'govich princes of Chernigov—Prince Vsevolod Sviatoslavich *Chermnyi,* grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Oleg, together with all his kin;[10] [his uncle] Prince Vladimir Igorevich with his kin; and Prince Mstislav Romanovich from Smolensk[11] who came with his sons; and also many Polovetss came to them. They all gathered in Chernigov and from thence they marched to Galich. And from Kiev Grand Prince Riurik Rostislavich marched with his sons, Princes Rostislav and Vladimir, and with Berendeis, and with Kovis, and with Boultis.[12] And from there [the north] they marched against the city of Vladimir [in Volynia] and against the people of Galich. The people of Galich with their prince, Daniil, became frightened and sent for the [Hungarian] king, asking for help. When the [Hungarian] king [Andrew II] received tidings of their grief and learned that all the Russian princes with Polovetss, and from the other side, the Poles, were marching against them, he went, himself, to the aid of the people of Galich. But being frightened and not waiting for the king, the children of Prince Roman [Daniil and Vasil'ko] escaped to their patrimony, the city of Vladimir [in Volynia]; but many Poles marched against the city of Vladimir. When the [Hungarian] king crossed the [Carpathian] mountains

9. Again, here is meant by "Russia" only southern Russia: Kiev, Chernigov and Pereiaslavl'.

10. Vsevolod Sviatoslavich *Chermnyi:* In Old Russian, "*Chermnyi*" means "Redhaired." "*Krasnyi*" would mean "fairhaired, fair." He was head of the Ol'govichi, being the son of Sviatoslav, senior brother of late Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich of Chernigov.

11. Prince Mstislav Romanovich from Smolensk, the nephew of late Davyd Rostislavich, Grand Prince of Smolensk.

12. Boultis are unknown in other sources. Possibly, they were Turkic tribes, such as the Berendeis, Kouis and Chernye Klobuki.

1206 he heard that the Poles were advancing against the city of Vladimir, while the Ol'govich princes were entering their [Daniil's and Vasil'ko's] land. So he stopped and would not move from one place to another. [On their side] the Ol'govichs, the Polovetss and the Poles, learning that the king [of Hungary] was close by, [deliberated and] did not dare to move against Galich. And so it was quiet for several days and neither the king nor the Ol'govichs would march toward Galich. And so they began to negotiate peace and friendship. Agreeing upon peace, they returned to their places.

The people of Galich, however, were afraid of what might happen after the king's departure to his own land and they deliberated: "Woe are we! Woe are we! In case the Ol'govichs return, they will deal with us worse than ever, and we have no prince [to protect us]." Deliberating thus, they sent to the Ol'govich army in order to get Prince Vladimir Igorevich [son of Igor' Iziaslavich, nephew of the late Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich]. Prince Vsevolod Igorevich accepted the offer of the people of Galich, secretly escaped from the host of his kin and hurried to Galich. The [Ol'govichs'] host was two days' distant from Galich. The king [of Hungary] insisted, however, they they [the people of Galich] accept as prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich [son of Vsevolod Great Nest] of Pereiaslavl', and he even waited two weeks for the latter's arrival. But Iaroslav Vsevolodich did not come on time because he was slow in preparing for his departure. When he finally hurried from Pereiaslavl' to Galich, he received the tidings that Vladimir Igorevich had entered the city of Galich three days before him. Thus he became greatly offended and returned to Pereiaslavl'. The Ol'govichs and the other princes heard with great astonishment that their kin, Vladimir Igorevich, had escaped in the night and gone to Galich to become grand prince there. And they retreated to Kiev.[13]

VSEVOLOD SVIATOSLAVICH CHERMNYI, GRAND PRINCE OF KIEV

Arriving in Kiev, Prince Vsevolod Sviatoslavich Chermnyi, relying upon his large forces, occupied the throne of the grand principality of Kiev and assigned his namestniks in all cities of the Kievan principality. And so Grand Prince Riurik Rostislavich, realizing that he had lost his opportunity, went to Ovruch, while

13. In the year 1202 (6710) in *Hyp.*

his son, Rostislav, went to Vyshgorod, and Mstislav Romanovich[14] became prince in Belgorod. Thereafter Grand Prince Vsevolod Sviatoslavich Chermnyi sent to Pereiaslavl' to Iaroslav, son of Vsevolod, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, announcing, "Depart from Pereiaslavl' [and go] to Suzdal' to your father, and do not attempt to seize Galich, which is under my kin. If you do, you will destroy yourself; and if you are too slow to leave Pereiaslavl', and then I will go against you with my army. Then, do not complain of me because I am showing you my grace." Iaroslav Vsevolodich took great fright and sent to him, asking for safe conduct, so that he would be able to go without obstacles to his father, Vsevolod Iur'evich. He[Chermnyi] gave him the safe conduct; and so Iaroslav Vsevolodich left Pereiaslavl' and arrived on September twenty ninth in the land of Rostov, Suzdal' and Vladimir, at his father's Vsevolod Iur'evich's. Then the same year Grand Prince Vsevolod Sviatoslavich Chermnyi sent his son, Prince Mikhail, to be prince in Pereiaslavl'. **1206**

The same year Riurik Rostislavich, grieving that he had lost the grand principality of Kiev, joined forces with Mstislav Romanovich and went with him, his children, his nephews and with a multitude of Polovetss, and he chased from Kiev Vsevolod Chermnyi, the son of Sviatoslav, grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Oleg [called Goreslavovich, Prince of Chernigov], gr. gr. grandson of Sviatoslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav [the Wise], gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir; and he also chased his [Vsevolod's] son, Mikhail, from Pereiaslavl'.[15] Grand Prince Riurik, son of Rostislav, grandson of Mstislav, with joy ascended to the throne of the grand principality of Kiev and he assigned his son, Vladimir, to Pereiaslavl'.

The same winter, however, Vsevolod Chermnyi with his brothers' forces, with those of his nephews and of the Polovetss, marched against Kiev. Riurik could not withstand him [in the field] and prepared Kiev for siege. They [Chermnyi and his allies] stayed three weeks around the city and returned without having succeeded in the least against the city. But they caused great hard-

14. Mstislav Romanovich: son of Roman Rostislavovich, Riurik's nephew.

15. In *Laur.* under the year 6714 (1206) the name of Mikhail is missing.

1207 ship to the people of the city and raided the countryside and towns.

ROMAN IGOREVICH IN VOLYNIA

Then Prince Vladimir Igorevich marched from Galich into the principality of Vladimir [in Volynia] and drove Daniil Romanovich, grandson of Mstislav, from the city of Vladimir, and put as prince there his brother, Roman Igorevich.

PORTENT.

The same winter on the twenty-eighth of February, a Wednesday of Shrovetide, there was a portent on the sun and the entire sun disappeared. There remained no more of it than a new moon on its first day. And thus it remained from Monday to *Nefimon.*[16] Many people assembled, regarded, marveled and prayed to Lord God and His Most Pure Theotokos that this portent be turned to good by God.

The same day Konstantin came to his father [Vsevolod] from Novgorod, and they were met on the river Neleksha by his brother;[17] and he, also, bowed to them. Then he came to his father and bowed to him and embraced his father, and he was received with great joy. He stayed in the city of Vladimir with his father for several days and there was great rejoicing.

The same year Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich left his father, Vsevolod Iur'evich, and went to Novgorod.

In the year 6715 [1207]. A church of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist Luke was built in Novgorod, in Lubenitsa.

STRUGGLE FOR KIEV BETWEEN VSEVOLOD CHERMNYI AND RIURIK

In the year 6716 [1208].[18] Prince Vsevolod Sviatoslavich Chermnyi, grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Oleg, gr.-gr. grandson of Sviatoslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr.

16. *Nefimon*: from Greek, *Methimon*, which means, "with us," the first words of the canon "God with us" read during the late second vesper, or compline, the last church service of the day. More specifically, the late church service celebrated during the first four days of the first week of Lent. *Roty*, p. 62; *Alexeev*, Vol. 2, p. 20.

17. "Naleksha," according to *Laptev ms.*

18. In 6715 (1207) in *Laur.*

gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, together with his brothers and **1208**
nephews, as well as with Polovetss and with strong forces, started warring against Kiev, against Grand Prince Riurik Rostislavich. He came to the city of Trepol'e and besieged it for three weeks. The people of the city became exhausted and surrendered, and he made peace with them and hurried against Kiev. Prince Vladimir Igorevich[19] of Galich came to his aid. Grand Prince Riurik Rostislavich took great fright and escaped from Kiev to Ovruch, while Prince Mstislav Romanovich prepared the city of Belgorod for siege; but they marched against Belgorod and besieged it; and so Prince Mstislav Romanovich became afraid, seeing numberless hosts, and not expecting any aid from anyone, he asked for safe conduct in order to leave Belgorod peacefully. Vsevolod Sviatoslavich Chermnyi gave him safe conduct and he went to his patrimony, to Smolensk. Then the Ol'govichs— Vsevolod Sviatoslavich Chermnyi with his brothers and all his forces— marched toward Torchesk, but Prince Mstislav Mstislavich prepared it for siege and they besieged the city and started fighting fiercely. A multitude of Polovetss scattered over the land, ravaging and causing much evil, burning estates and towns, massacring and taking captives. Prince Mstislav Mstislavich could not defend the city and gave to Vsevolod Sviatoslavich Chermnyi an oath on the holy and lifegiving cross, promising to follow the latter's will. Having taken his oath on the honorable cross that he would do according to his will, Prince Vsevolod Sviatoslavich Chermnyi marched to Kiev, ascended to the grand principality, assigned his namestniks to all cities of the principality of Kiev, and greatly honored his brothers, nephews and the Polovetss. He gave them many gifts because they had labored heavily on his behalf.

TREACHERY OF THE PRINCES OF RIAZAN'

The same year[20] Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, began to assemble his hosts with the intention of marching against Chernigov, against the Ol'govichs. He said, "Since when has the Russian land

19. Vladimir Igorevich, son of the hero of *The Lay of Prince Igor,* was a second cousin of Chermnyi, the grandson of Sviatoslav, son of Oleg "Gorislavovich" of Chernigov.

20. In 6715 (1207) in *Laur.*

1208 become the patrimony of the Ol'govichs and ceased being our [the Monomakhovichs'] patrimony? I hope that Lord God will aid me in dealing with them. I want to march against Chernigov, against the Ol'govichs, relying on Lord God's aid, because they drove out my son, Iaroslav, dishonorably from the city of Pereiaslavl' Russkii, and caused me great shame." And so he sent for his son, Konstantin, who was in Novgorod. Konstantin Vsevolodich assembled a great army of Novgorodians and men of Pskov and marched with all his forces to Moscow, to await his father there.

In the meantime, Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich sent to Riazan', to Prince Roman of Riazan', and to his brothers, and to Prince Davyd of Murom, announcing to them the offenses caused him by the Ol'govichs, and how disgracefully they had cast out his son, Iaroslav, from Pereiaslavl', and what manner of speeches they uttered concerning him. "I can no longer tolerate them. If you will aid me against my enemy, then God, too, will help me against them." So on the nineteenth day of the month of August, a Sunday, Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, marched with all his children, and he met his son, Konstantin, with the levies of Novgorod and Pskov. From thence he went toward the river Oka with all his sons: Konstantin, Iurii, Iaroslav and Vladimir.

[For their part] the princes of Riazan' and Murom gathered their troops and camped on the other side of the river Oka, coming to the aid of Vsevolod Iur'evich. They were Prince Roman Glebovich; his brother, Sviatoslav Glebovich, with his two sons—Mstislav and Rostislav Sviatoslavichs; [their nephews], the two brothers, Ingvar and Iurii—sons of Igor' [Glebovich]; and two other brothers, Gleb and Oleg—sons of Vladimir and grandsons of Gleb, and the nephews of Roman and Sviatoslav. These two latter conspired with their boiars, decided to slander their uncles, and sent to Vsevolod Iur'evich, saying, "Our uncles Roman Glebovich and Sviatoslav Glebovich, and the latter's sons, Mstislav and Roman, have conspired against you and are in alliance with the Ol'govichs; and they have marched with you with evil intentions. Beware of them as of snakes!"

When Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich heard this he grew frightened and began to consult his followers as to what to do. And they came to the conclusion: "As they are conspiring against you, you must conspire against them and claim that you are in

friendship with them, and arrange a banquet and invite them with great honor to this banquet. Then expose their evil machinations and deal with them according to their deeds; but no one should know of this beforehand." **1208**

The same year[21] Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, marched with all his forces to the river Oka, and when he approached the river Oka with the levies of Rostov, Suzdal', Vladimir, Pereiaslavl', Novgorod and of Pskov, he pitched his tents on the shore and in the meadows, and it was a very numerous host. Prince Roman Glebovich with his kin camped on the other side of the river Oka; but at that time Roman's brother, Prince Vsevolod Glebovich, passed away in Pronsk. His son, Kyr[22] Mikhailo, was the son-in-law of Prince Vsevolod Sviatoslavich Chermnyi. Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, sent to them—to the princes of Riazan'—inviting them with honor.

When they arrived and were seated in the tent, whilst the Grand Prince was hiding in a section of the tent [*polstnitsa*], he sent to them Prince Davyd of Murom and his tysiatskii, Boris Mikhailovich, exposing their evildoing. They swore that they had neither done that nor had heard anything about it: "From whence has this slander about us come? And who was the Satan who caluminated us to you? God knows everything and He will be Judge between us." Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich then summoned their nephews, Gleb and Oleg, Vladimir's sons, and told them, "You told me concerning your uncles Roman, Sviatoslav and Vsevolod that they want to betray me to the Ol'govichs. If what you said about them is true, then go and speak thus in front of them. Vsevolod, however, has died, and therefore God will judge me and him." They went and began to denounce their uncles, saying that they wanted to do this and that; but they [the uncles] swore and vowed, "We know nothing of this. It was Satan who ordered you to utter this untruthful calumny against us. God will judge you because no one is immortal in this vain and rapidly passing life. We must all die, and when there will be the Final

21. 6715 (1208) in *Laur.*

22. *Kyr* is a Greek word meaning "lord." Prince Mikhailo was probably referred to as *Kyr* because he had either lived in Byzantium or was related to the Byzantine imperial family of Comnene or Angeli.

1208 Judgment before God, then there will be a trial not only of our deeds and words but even of our intentions. Such is the honor and glory you, our nephews, render us, your uncles. It is a disgrace, a curse and an evil death."

Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, however, ordered that they all be arrested with their boiars, and on September twenty second, a Saturday, he sent them to Vladimir. On the morrow, early on Sunday, Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich with his children, with the two princes of Riazan'—Gleb and Oleg, who had slandered their uncles—and with Prince Davyd of Murom, and with the levies of Novgorod and Pskov, and with large forces, crossed the river Oka. He sent another host in boats down the river Oka; and they began to burn the land of Riazan', to capture and massacre the people. And they marched toward the city of Pronsk.

At that time Prince Kyr Mikhailo Vsevolodich was in the city of Pronsk, receiving the tidings that his uncles and their boiars had been arrested after being caluminated by their nephews, as well as that his father, Prince Vsevolod Glebovich, had died in Pronsk and that Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich was marching with great forces toward the city of Pronsk with the calumniators who had denounced their own uncles. He became very afflicted and cried out in a loud voice, "Oh, woe are we! Oh, those mad ones! They destroy our land and our kin. How can these accursed caluminators not have any feeling for their own uncles? How could their evil lips be opened and why has God's punishment not befallen them as it fell upon Cain and Sviatopolk? On, woe are we! We are destroyed by our own kin!" And he told the boiars, "Advise me what to do. There is no such commandment of God that we should surrender in misfortune. [The Scripture says] 'But if one is chased from a city, he must flee to another.'" [Matt. 10:23] And so he arose and escaped to Chernigov, to his father-in-law, Prince Vsevolod Sviatoslavich Chermnyi, grandson of Vsevolod, gr. grandson of Oleg, gr. gr. grandson of Sviatoslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir. At that time, Vsevolod Chermnyi was in Kiev being prince there.

The people of Pronsk accepted Iziaslav Vladimirich, grandson of Gleb, brother of those calumniators, in the city of Pronsk as their prince, and they started preparing the city of

Pronsk for siege. [The host of] Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, **1208**
son of Dolgorukii, arrived on Saturday in the city of Pronsk, camping there, and a fierce battle ensued. The people of Pronsk resisted them, under Prince Iziaslav, third son of Vladimir, because, as we said above, [their prince] Kyr Mikhailo Vsevolodich had escaped earlier from the city of Pronsk. And [Vsevolod] began to storm the city, fighting stoutly. At that time someone from the city killed Iurii Miroslavich, posadnik of Novgorod. Grand Prince Vsevolod sent to the people of Pronsk, saying, "Better surrender to me in good will. If not, all of you will perish in an evil way." But they did not heed them, relying on the city's fortifications and forgetting the Scriptures, wherein it is said, "When the Lord does not protect the city, it is vain to try to defend it." And much blood was shed on both sides.

[In the meantime] the men of Riazan', under Prince Roman Igorevich, learned that the levies of Novgorod—both the footmen and the men in boats—were camping on an island near Ol'gov. So they began planning how to attack these footmen and boatmen, sending horsemen under Prince Roman Igorevich along the shore of [the river] Oka. When Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich learned of this, he sent Prince Oleg Vladimirich, grandson of Gleb, with strong forces to help his boatsmen who were near Ol'gov. [Oleg marched] and when he approached Ozhesk he received the news that Prince Roman Igorevich, grandson of Gleb, had left Riazan' and was already fighting the boatmen; so as soon as the men of Riazan' noticed them, they withdrew one regiment from the fight with the boatmen and aligned it against those of Oleg. Oleg Vladimirich, grandson of Gleb, charged them with his own host, while the troops in the boats, who were on the other shore, attacked them from that other side. Prince Oleg Vladimirich, grandson of Gleb, defeated Roman Igorevich, grandson of Gleb, Prince of Riazan'; and these two were the children of two brothers! And Prince Roman Igorevich fled to Riazan'. When the other troops of Riazan' saw their prince fleeing, they gave off fighting for the boats and escaped to the forest. Roman Igorevich went to Riazan' and began to fortify it, while Prince Oleg Vladimirich returned to Pronsk, to Vsevolod Iur'evich.

And so they besieged Pronsk for two and a half weeks, and

1208 then cut off the inhabitants' water supply, and the people in the city became exhausted. When Iziaslav and the people of Pronsk learned that the host of Riazan' was defeated, and realized that due to lack of water both they and their animals were dying, they came out of the city with their prince, Iziaslav Vladimirich, and bowed to Grand Prince Vsevolod. On the eighteenth day of the month of October Vsevolod had them give the oath on the cross, and he assigned Oleg Vladimirich, grandson of Gleb, to be their prince; and he captured the princess [wife] of Kyr Mikhailo and took her with him, as well as their estates and their endless wealth. He made peace with Prince Iziaslav Vladimirich but assigned his own posadniks to all the cities, and advanced toward the city of Riazan'. When he was as far as Dobryi Sot and wanted on the morrow to cross the river Pronia and to attack the city of Riazan', the people of Riazan' dispatched their envoys, petitioning him not to attack the city of Riazan'; and they sent this petition with our Bishop Arsenius, who said, "Lord Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich! You are Christian! Do not shed Christian blood. Do not devastate the places of these pious Orthodox Christians. Do not burn the churches and venerable monasteries because there the Name of God is glorified, and prayers for the entire world are said there to Lord God. Do not arouse the wrath of God against you."

Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich was struck by these words, listened to their petition and marched from thence to Kolomna, and then to Moscow. When he arrived at the mouth of the river Merzkaia, Bishop Arenius of Riazan' caught up with him with a petition and words of respect from all his people. Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich marched from thence to Vladimir and requested Bishop Arsenius to accompany him. He came to the city of Vladimir on the twenty-first day of the month of November, a Wednesday, when the holiday of the Presentation of the Most Pure Theotokos in the Temple is celebrated. The people of Riazan' sent their remaining princes to Vladimir.

Grank Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich let the levies of Novgorod and Pskov go home, having given them a numberless amount of gifts and having confirmed to them their freedom according to their traditions of old and to the statutes of the earlier princes, which they wanted. He gave them all this, telling them the follow-

ing: "And if you wish something else, ask me. I am obliged to give you all the best because you have demonstrated your heavy labor and have defeated my enemies of Riazan'. Thanks to you, I won much glory, and you may keep the princes according to your will. Whosoever is good to you, him must you mutually love and respect. And whomsoever you want to honor, then honor him; but if you want to chastise someone, then chastise. Do in the manner of the old statutes of the former princes." And he greatly encouraged them, and having given the gifts, he let them go; and they departed, rejoicing. **1208**

[UNREST IN NOVGOROD]

He kept with him in Vladimir, however, his senior son, Prince Konstantin, who ruled in Novgorod; Dmitrii, posadnik of Novgorod, who was badly shot at Pronsk; posadnik Andrei, who likewise was badly shot and wounded at Pronsk; and seven other wealthy and important Novgorodians who had been struck and wounded at Pronsk.

When the Novgorodians returned to Novgorod, according to their old tradition they summoned the *veche* concerning posadnik Dmitrii and his kin, because he made a practice of selling [into slavery] people from the estates and merchants. They became so enraged that they went to their residences, first burned that of posadnik Dmitrii Miroshkin, then sacked the residences of his brothers and took their possessions and wealth, confiscated their estates and people and their serfs, and sold them. Then they searched for the hidden treasury and found an endless quantity of it for each, and what was left they divided among the people of the city—three grivnas for each. And only God knows what they hid [of what they sacked]. After that many Novgorodians became very rich. And what was on the *doski* they left to the prince.[23]

The same year[24] the corpse of the Novgorodian posadnik, Dmitrii Miroshkin, who was shot at Pronsk, was brought from Vladimir; and also many other corpses of those who had been shot and wounded at Pronsk were brought thither. With utmost hatred the Novgorodians rushed at the corpse of their dead

23. *Doski*: deeds, notes of debts and other financial records.

24. In 6717 (1209) in *Novg. III*.

1208 posadnik, Dmitrii Miroshkin, wanting to cast his body from the bridge into the water. The other corpses they wanted to burn in bonfires made from logs. Their lord [Arch] Bishop Metrophanes, however, forbade them, threatening them, but even he could keep them only with difficulty from such frenzy. Lord Bishop Metrophanes buried him [Dmitrii] in the St. George Monastery in the vicinity of his late father.

The same year[25] Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, sent his son, Sviatoslav, to Novgorod to be prince there, and he kept his senior son, Prince Konstantin, with him, giving him the city of Rostov and five other cities. Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich came to Novgorod on Saturday of Shrovetide week, and he began his rule in Novgorod. The Novgorodians presented him the *doski* of their posadnik Dmitrii Miroshkin, and there was tremendous wealth on them; and he remained their prince according to their will, according to the tradition, and according to the statutes of their first princes; and there was great peace and friendship among them. They told their prince, "Lord Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich! Be aware that we want to have here neither Vladislav nor Boris nor Predislav nor Sudislav, the children of our former posadnik, Dmitrii Miroshkin; nor do we want Ostriata Domozhirovich, Ivan Danilovich or Mitroshka Olekshich!"

[PRINCE RIURIK RETURNS TO KIEV]

The same year Riurik Rostislavich, having learned that Vsevolod Iur'evich was campaigning in Riazan', began to marshall his troops against the princes of Chernigov; also, a large number of Polovets's joined him, and he did all this secretly. Thus, having gathered his troops, he marched quickly to Kiev and drove out Vsevolod Sviatoslavich Chermnyi from Kiev; and he, himself, became grand prince there and assigned his own namestniks to all the cities of the principality of Kiev. He paid the Polovetss and let them depart to their encampment.

The same year on the twenty-fifth day of November when holy Clement, Pope of Rome, and Peter of Alexandria are remembered, Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich consecrated the church of St. Michael at his estate in Rostov. The same year on the

25. In 6715 (1207) in *Laur.*

first day of the month of February, when holy Father Simon— **1209**
who received the Child Jesus in the temple—is remembered, there was a portent on the moon, and the entire moon was covered, and only a small part of it remained—as it looks on the first day of the new month; and thus it remained from evening to midnight. The same year the Ol'govichs marched against Kiev, against Riurik Rostislavich. They did not succeed in the least, and returned.

[THE DESTRUCTION OF RIAZAN']

In the year 6717 [1209]. Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, sent his son, Prince Iaroslav, to the throne of the grand principality of Riazan'. The people of Riazan' swore their fealty on the cross to Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich and to his son, Prince Iaroslav, who became their grand prince. For a short time everyone abode in peace and friendship, and justice prevailed; but then peace came to an end, and it was impossible to handle them. They caught many boiars and men of Vsevolod and Iaroslav, and put some in irons; some into the dungeon, covered with earth, and let them die there; and some were hung. Then the people of Riazan' conspired with Prince Gleb Vladimirich and his brother, Prince Iziaslav Vladimirich, princes of Pronsk, to turn Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich over from Riazan' to Pronsk. Hearing this, however, Iaroslav grew cautious and wary of them, and he sent a message to his father in Vladimir. Receiving it, his father marched to Riazan' with his children; arriving there, he camped near the city and his son, Iaroslav, came from the city to meet his father. The people of Riazan' also came, uttering rebellious speeches according to their habit of disobedience. Then Grand Prince Vsevolod said that all must leave the city with their light possessions and with their other goods, and he burned the city and the suburbs, and then marched to Belgorod, which he likewise burned, with its suburbs. And he also burned other cities and suburbs [in the principality of Riazan']. He moved the people, together with their wives and children, from Riazan' to Vladimir, and sent them to his own cities; and he completely devastated the Riazan' land—cities and estates, burning the towns and cattle. He took with him to the city of Vladimir their bishop, Arsenius, and returned to Vladimir with all his troops and with his son, Iaroslav.

1210 The same winter[26] the princes of Riazan'—Iziaslav Vladimirich and Kyr Mikhailo Vsevolodich, both grandsons of Gleb—campaigned around Moscow. Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich sent his son, Prince Iurii, against them with strong forces, and he caught up with Prince Iziaslav Vladimirich of Riazan' on the river Trostna, and slew many of his troops. Prince Iziaslav Vladimirich, however, escaped beyond the river. Hearing this, Prince Kyr Mikhailo Vsevolodich also escaped with his troops. Then Prince Iurii Vsevolodich returned with honor to his father in the city of Vladimir, and this happened on Maundy Thursday [when his father was] in the cathedral of Archangel Gabriel. The same year Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, married his second wife, the daughter of Prince Vasil'ko of Vitebsk.

The same year the Hungarians drove from Galich Prince Vladimir Igorevich and put there as prince his brother, Prince Roman Igorevich.

The same year Matvei Andreevich, tysiatskii of Riazan', was killed in Kadoma.

The same year a son, Vasilii, was born to Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov.

[CHANGES IN GALICH]

In the year 6718 [1210]. On September fourth Prince Roman Igorevich was driven from Galich and Prince Rostislav, son of Riurik, grandson of Rostislav, became prince there. The same fall Prince Rostislav Riurikovich was driven from Galich and Prince Roman Igorevich again became prince of Galich and his brother came with him.

The same fall Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich sent his son, Prince Konstantin, with his brothers against Prince Mstislav Mstislavich of Torzhok; when Prince Mstislav Mstislavich heard this, he retreated to Novgorod, and from thence to his domain in Toropets. And so Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich returned with his brothers from Tver' and they were joined by their brother, Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, who came from Novgorod.[27]

26. In 6716 (1208) in *Laur.*

27. Toropets: capital of the small principality within the grand principality of Smolensk. Toropets, itself, is halfway between Torzhok and Polotsk.

1210 The same winter Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich sent his voevoda, Koz'ma Rodionovich, with a host into the land of Riazan'; the latter took the town of Pra in the Riazan' land down the Oka river, and he returned to Vladimir with many captives.[28]

The same year the people of Novgorod, under the command of Prince Vladimir and posadnik Tverdislav, fought the Lithuanians in Khodyrichi and slew them.

PRINCE MSTISLAV MSTISLAVICH OF TOROPETS.

The same year Prince Mstislav Mstislavich came to Torzhok and Mstislav's men put the posadnik in irons, arrested those who were within reach and confiscated their wealth and estates. Then he sent to the Novgorodians, to the city of Novgorod, saying, "I greet Holy Sophia, the grave of my father, and all Novgorodians! I have heard about the princes' violence against you, and therefore I have come to you, saddened and grieved about my patrimony of Novgorod, seeing how the old traditions are perverted, how the statutes of the former princes are forgotten; and I am very worried about you and wonder how I can help you?" The Novgorodians were very pleased by his words and sent for him with great honor, saying, "Good Prince! Come to our throne, to us, to Novgorod, and then we will cast out or arrest Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich." They summoned the veche, according to their tradition, and put their princes, Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, together with his men, under guard on the bishop's estate. Then Prince Mstislav Mstislavich came to Novgorod and they set him on the throne of his father with honor, glory and great joy. There was much rejoicing among all the Novgorodians because this occurred according to their desires, and they received the prince according to their own will. In the meantime, Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich remained under guard on the bishop's estate.

The same year Prince Mstislav Mstislavich began to assemble troops, and he marched with all the levies of Novgorod to Torzhok. Hearing of this, Grand Prince Vsevolod sent his sons, Konstantin, Iurii and Iaroslav, to Torzhok. Arriving with their hosts at Tver', the Novgorodians took fright and released Sviatoslav and his men to Tver', to his brothers; and the Novgorodians concluded peace with Grand Prince Vsevolod and his sons. Prince

28. "Pra" appears as "Tepra" in another *Nik. ms.*

1210 Konstantin returned with his brothers from Tver' to the city of Vladimir, to his father, Grand Prince Vsevolod, while the Novgorodians returned home.

ABOUT THE CAMPAIGN OF THE PRINCES OF RIAZAN' AGAINST MOSCOW

Two princes of Riazan'—Iziaslav Vladimirich and Kyr Mikhailo Vsevolodich—received the tidings that Vsevolod's son [Iaroslav] had marched toward Tver' against the Novgorodians, but they were not aware that he had already concluded peace with Novgorod and had returned to his father in Vladimir. So they began to campaign in the towns around Moscow. Learning of this, Grand Prince Vsevolod became angry and quickly sent his son, Georgii [Iurii] against them. Georgii Vsevolodich came in the evening to Golubino, and sent his scouts to ascertain where his [enemies'] host was. Learning that Iziaslav was camped in Merzkoe and that Kyr Mikhailo in Litov, and their people were off raiding, Georgii marched by night against Merzkoe, which was ahead of him. Arriving at Volochok, he went with his vanguard to the river Kliazma; early at dawn the vanguards clashed, and Iurii's warriors chased Iaroslav's advance troops through the forest, where they massacred them. Georgii [Iurii] with his regiments followed quickly, and when he came to the river Drozdna he attacked Iziaslav. The latter fled, his druzhina was partly slain and partly captured, and he, himself [Iziaslav] escaped across the river, while many of his druzhina were trampled underfoot around him. Kyr Mikhailo, hearing that Iziaslav had been defeated, also fled with his own regiment. It was Maundy Thursday and the day of Archangel Gabriel, patron of the cathedral, March twenty sixth, and Prince Georgii returned victoriously and with great honor to his father in the city of Vladimir.

PEACE BETWEEN THE OL'GOVICHS AND VSEVOLOD

The same year Grand Prince Vsevolod Sviatoslavich Chermnyi and the entire kin of the Ol'govichs prayed Metropolitan Matthew of Kiev and all Russia to arrange peace and friendship between them and Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, son of Dolgorukii. "We do this because we want to be at one with him and to be submitted to him; but why did he become angry at us

and capture the princes of Riazan', and burn and devastate their lands?" Matthew, the Metropolitan, went from Kiev to Vladimir, to Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, to arrange peace and friendship with the Ol'govichs. When he arrived he began to speak with him of peace, humility and love and about the troubles we encounter in our present life, and how we become entangled in the snares and intrigues of the devil. It would be good, as long as we have time in the present life, to care for and attend to our souls, to forgive offenders, "Because these princes of Chernigov want to live with you in unanimity." He spoke at length to him. Hearing it, Vsevolod Iur'evich softened his heart, and seeing the submission of the princes of Chernigov, Vsevolod took them into his friendship, forgot his hatred and subsequently made an oath on the cross. He honored Metropolitan Matthew of Kiev and all Russia, released him with great honor, and with his children and all the people he accompanied him with great honor. The same year a son, Ivan [called "Vsevolod" by his clan name] was born to Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich. **1211**

In the year 6719 [1211]. Grand Prince Vsevolod Sviatoslavich Chermnyi became prince in Kiev, and Riurik became prince in Chernigov. The same year the Polovetss came to Pereiaslavl', raided many estates and towns, caused much harm and returned home with a large number of captives.

In the year 6720 [1212].[29] Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich married his son, Iurii [Georgii] to the daughter of Grand Prince Vsevolod Sviatoslavich Chermnyi of Kiev; and so Prince Iurii became the brother-in-law of Prince Kyr Mikhailo Vsevolodich of Riazan'. The wedding took place in the monastery of the Most Pure Theotokos and was performed by Bishop John. Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich and his children attended the wedding.

The same year[30] nearly the entire city of Rostov burned, including fifteen churches. In the bishop's residence the church of St. John the Precursor burned down to the foundation, and after the fire there remained only the icon of the Holy Great Martyr Theodore Tyron and a vessel[31] with wine which, in the opinion of

29. In 6719 (1211) in *Laur.* and *Hyp.*

30. In 6719 (1211) in *Laur.*

31. In *Nik.*, "voshchanitsa" a vessel or bag covered with wax. The first bishop of Rostov was Bishop Leontius.

1212 some, belonged to Bishop Leontius, who was earlier in Rostov.

The same year[32] the people of Galich became filled with hatred toward their lord, Prince Roman Igorevich, and his brothers, and began evilly to conspire against him, how to put him to death. They wanted to poison him with poisonous herbs but they did not succeed; then they wanted to murder him during the hunt, but again they did not succeed. Then they sent clandestinely for the Hungarians, brought them secretly to the city, arrested their three princes, the Igorevichs—Prince Roman Igorevich and his two brothers. They beat them at length, then carried them through the streets, still hitting them, and then they hanged all of them, with their wives and children.[33]

The same year Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich grew very weak and he sent to Rostov for his eldest son, Prince Konstantin, promising him still during his life to give him the grand principality of Vladimir, while he promised Rostov to his other son, Prince Iurii [Georgii]. Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich refused to go to Vladimir to his father, but sent him a message, saying, "My great and beloved father! Do not be angry with me, a simpleton, because since you love me very much and I am your senior son, and you want to preserve the rule of seniority, I want to ask you to leave me the city of Rostov, the senior and first-founded city [in your principality]; and in addition to this, the city of Vladimir. If Your Honor, however, does not want to do thus, then give me Vladimir and add Rostov to it. Father! Do not disdain my petition to you, if it is your will." Then Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich sent for him a second time, asking him to come to him, but he did not come. Then he sent to him for a third time, asking him to come to Vladimir, but he did not heed his father or go to him,

32. In 1211 in *Vozn.*

33. Apparently the sons of Riurik Rostislavich were conspiring with the people of Galich. See item under the year 6722 (1214). In *Hyp.*: In the year 6716 (1208), the Igorevichs,—Roman, Sviatoslav and Rostislav—attempting to destroy the boiars' oligarchy of Galich and executed several leading boiars. The boiars, however, called Daniil back to Galich and he marched there with a Hungarian auxiliary army led by King Andrew. The Igorevichs were overthrown and arrested, Daniil once more became Grand Prince of Galich, while the boiars asked the Hungarians to turn the Igorevichs over to them and hanged all three princes: Roman, Sviatoslav and Rostislav.

saying "Give me Vladimir with Rostov." But Grand Prince Vsevolod did not give him his blessing [to have the two cities]. **1212**

The same year[34] Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich summoned all his boiars and deliberated concerning his son, Vladimir. There was much discussion but they could not decide about him. Then he sent for his spiritual father, Bishop John, and consulted at length with him, but because Grand Prince Vsevolod wanted to give the city of Vladimir to his other son, Prince Iurii, he sent for his son, Prince Iurii, and gave him the city of Vladimir with all boiars and all the people, and the latter gave their oath's on the cross, as did all his [Vsevolod's] children—his [Iurii's] brothers.[35] When Grand Prince Konstantin, Vsevolod's senior son, learned of this his anger flared greatly and he knit his brows in wrath at his brother, Prince Iurii, as well as all those councillors who had thus deliberated. There was great furor and perturbation over this, and many people, afflicted, ran to and fro in pandemonium.

MSTISLAV RECEIVES A NEW ARCHBISHOP

The same year Prince Mstislav Mstislavich [of Novgorod] marched with the Novgorodian host against the Chud', called "Torna." They captured many and returned home. The same year Prince Mstislav Mstislavich campaigned against the Chud' city of Medvezhiia Golova [Bear's Head], raiding the land and the towns. He besieged the city and received tribute from them.

The same year[36] there arose in Novgorod slander against Bishop Metrophanes because from the very beginning of the world, Satan did not want any good for humankind. He put envy of Abel into Cain's heart, and Cain killed his brother, Abel; and since then from generation to generation he has caused much sedition and many murders. And so now Satan, with the help of Prince Mstislav Mstislavich and the posadniks, rose up against Metrophanes, Bishop of Novgorod, and instigated much calumny and evil rumors about him, and would not permit him to justify

34. In 6719 (1211) in *Vozn.*

35. In *Laptev ms.*, there follows: "Grand Prince Vsevolod summoned his boiars from all his cities and domains; Bishop John; the abbots and the priests; the merchants, *dvoriane* and all the people; and they all gave their oaths on the cross, pledging fealty to Iurii."

36. In 6719 (1211) in *Laur.*

1213 himself. And so he was driven from his see and was taken to prison in Toropets.[37] He, however, accepted all this with joy in Christ in the same way as did John Chrysostom and Gregory of Akragan, although Satan caused him dishonor, shame, grief, the sacking of his estate, separation from his likeminded friends, and many other evils; but he still thanked the Lord God and His Most Pure Theotokos for all. Then the Novgorodians with their prince, Mstislav Mstislavich, selected monk Anthony, who had been tonsured in the monastery of Khutyn. This Anthony, before the exile of Bishop Metrophanes, had made a pilgrimage to Constantinople, from whence he brought back a piece of the Lord's tomb. So he was sent to Kiev to be consecrated bishop by the Metropolitan.

The same year[38] Anthony returned to Novgorod, having been consecrated bishop of Novgorod by Matthew, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia. The same year [6719 (1211) in *Novg. III.*] 4,300 households and fifteen holy churches burned in Novgorod.

DEATH OF VSEVOLOD "GREAT NEST"

In the year 6721 [1213].[39] Grand Prince Vsevolod, who in Holy Baptism was named Dmitrii—the son of Iurii Dolgorukii, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, great grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir—passed away on a Sunday, the fourteenth day of the month of April, when the Holy Confessor Martin, Pope of Rome, is remembered; and he was buried on Monday in the church of the Most Pure Theotokos which was built with one golden cupola by his brother, Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii. Andrei had adorned this church with all manner of wealth and had endowed it with estates, with taxes from the markets and with tithes from other income according to the statutes and rules of the Greek emperors and the Russian princes. This Dmitrii, called Vsevolod, added to this church of the Most Pure Theotokos four additional cupolas, gilded them, and in his own residence [in Vladimir] he built a church to the Holy Great Martyr Demetrius, which was adorned

37. Toropets was the original domain of Prince Mstislav.
38. In 6719 (1212) in *Laur.*
39. In 6720 (1212) in *Laur.*

with carved stone.[40] And he gilded its cupola and placed in it the icon which had been brought from Saloniki from the tomb of the Holy Great Martyr Demetrius, from which myrrh constantly emerged; and a shirt of this Great Martyr was deposited in this church. He also founded a monastery, in which he built a church of the Nativity of the Most Pure Theotokos, endowing it with towns, apiaries, lakes, rivers and many estates. He did this because he always had awe for God in his heart, and he had love and mercy toward the people, whom he always would judge according to right justice, not influenced by his powerful boiars and not permitting anyone to be offended. He greatly respected the bishops and priests, as well as all the clergy and monks, whom he greatly loved and honored. All lands trembled at his name, and all over the earth people heard of him. God put under his hand all those who plotted evil against him, because he was not proud but placed all his hope in God, and God submitted his enemies under his foot. He was buried with the funeral chants by Bishop John, the abbots, the monks and the entire Sacred Council of the city of Vladimir. His sons, boiars and all his men, and his whole land lamented him greatly. His sons were Konstantin of Rostov, Boris, Iurii, Iaroslav, Vladimir, Sviatoslav and Ivan. Altogether, Vsevolod reigned thirty and seven years. **1213**

After him his son, Iurii, ascended to the grand principality of Vladimir, while his son, Konstantin, remained prince in Rostov and Iaroslavl'.

[STRUGGLES AFTER THE DEATH OF VSEVOLOD "GREAT NEST"]

The same year[41] Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, released the princes of Riazan' and their bishop, Arsenius, and let them return to their patrimony of Riazan'; and so all the people of Riazan', and with them Bishop Arsenius, went each to his own place.

The same year[42] Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich fled from

40. This is the well-preserved church of St. Demetrius in Vladimir which is so richly decorated with figures of birds, animals, people and angels carved in the stone.

41. In 6720 (1212) in *Laur.*

42. In 6720 (1212) in *Vozn.*

1214 Vladimir to his senior brother, Konstantin, in Rostov; and the latter began to plan war against his brother, Iurii, wanting the city of Vladimir from him.

The same year[43] Grand Prince Iurii began to think of fighting his senior brother, Konstantin; and he marched against him to Rostov, and with him were his brothers, Iaroslav, Vladimir and Ivan; but before reaching Rostov, they made peace and returned home. The same year[44] Vasil'ko and Vsevolod, the sons of Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov, underwent the rite of the cutting of their hair. The same year there was a great famine and people[45] would even eat meat during Lent.

The same year the people of Pskov cast out their prince, Vladimir of Toropets, and then they marched to the lake; but during St. Peter's fast the Lithuanians attacked the Pskovian land, occupied many districts and towns, raided and burned them, and returned home with many captives.

The same year[46] Prince Vladimir Iur'evich[47] fled from Vladimir to Rostov to his senior brother, Konstantin. Then Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich with his brothers, Iaroslav and Ivan, marched against them [Konstantin and his brothers, Sviatoslav and Vladimir], but at the city of Iur'ev they made peace.

The same year[48] Prince Vladimir was sent by his brother, Konstantin of Rostov, to Volok, and from thence he went to Moscow, where he settled. Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich left Prince Konstantin of Rostov and went to Prince Iurii Vsevolodich of Vladimir, from whom he received the city of Iur'ev Pol'skii.

In the year 6722 [1214]. During Shrovetide, on the first day of the month of February, there was frightening thunder. The same year[49] on the Annunciation, March twenty fifth, there was a portent. In midmorning a moon, which looked as if it were nearly three days old, appeared above the sun. Then it began to grow, and when it was nearly as large as if [fully] three days old, a black

43. In 6720 (1212) in *Laur.*
44. In 6720 (1212) in *Laur.*
45. In 6720 (1212) in *Vozn.*
46. In 6720 (1212) in *Vozn.*
47. Must be Vsevolodich.
48. 6720 (1212) in *Vozn.*
49. 6721 (1213) in *Vozn.*

cloud covered it, remained awhile, then moved away. Again there **1214**
appeared a small moon, as if almost three days old; and then it began to grow, but before it was as large as if it were [fully] three days old, again a black cloud covered it. This occurred four times, and all the people saw it and marvelled and took fright.

The same year[50] John Bishop of Rostov, Suzdal' and Vladimir, gave up his bishopric and went to the monastery in Bogoliubovo. The same year there was a fire in Vladimir and 400 households and four churches burned.

The same year the king of Hungary put his son to rule Galich and he forcibly introduced the Latin rites in all the churches.

The same year[51] Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov began to plan war but Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich of Vladimir also began to marshal large forces to fight him; he marched toward Rostov with his brothers, Sviatoslav, Iaroslav and Ivan. When Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich learned of this, he sent to burn the city of Kostroma. Then Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich marched to Rostov, and they fought on the river Ishna, where they remained for a certain time, and caused much harm in that land. But finally they made peace, confirming it with their oath on the cross. From thence he [Iurii] marched to Moscow against his brother, Prince Vladimir Vsevolodich; he drove him from Moscow and assigned him to Pereiaslavl' Russkii, to his domain.

MSTISLAV OF NOVGOROD FIGHTS CHUD'

The same year Grand Prince Mstislav Mstislavich campaigned with a Novgorodian host against Iereva in Chud'; he marched through the Chud' land to the sea. He waged war against their districts and towns, and occupied their abatis. Then he besieged their city of Vorobeino and the Chud' bowed to him, and Grand Prince Mstislav Mstislavich levied tribute from them. He gave the Novgorodians two parts of it and the third he gave to his *dvoriane.*[52] Campaigning with him were Vsevolod Borisovich, prince of Pskov, with the levies of Pskov; and Prince Davyd of

50. 6721 (1213) in *Vozn.*

51. 6721 (1213) in *Laur.*

52. *Dvoriane:* in Novgorod in the twelfth century, these were the prince's agents, stewards in charge of some cities

1214 Toropets, brother of Vladimir, with the levies of Toropets; and they returned home with great booty and wealth.

The same year[53] Grand Prince Vsevolod Sviatoslavich Chermnyi drove the grandchildren of Rostislav from Russia[54] saying, "How can I live together with you in peace and friendship? You have captured my kin and abused them and offended them bitterly, and you hung them like criminals in Galich, and in this way you put shame on all the kin; and you committed such evil and accursed deeds that there is no part of the Russian land for you."[55]

MSTISLAV CONTROLS KIEV

The same year[56] Prince Mstislav Mstislavich together with posadnik Tverdislav and the levies of Novgorod, marched from Novgorod to Kiev; along the river Dnieper he occupied the cities of the principality of Chernigov, and the city of Rechitsa; arriving in Vyshgorod, he fought there and captured Prince Davyd, Prince Rostislav Iaroslavich and his brother, Prince Iaropolk. Then the people of Vyshgorod opened the gate of the city to him. They did so because they conspired against their princes. Grand Prince Vsevolod Sviatoslavich Chermnyi of Kiev escaped from Kiev beyond the Dnieper after having reigned in Kiev for ten years. Then Prince Mstislav Mstislavich with the Novgorodians assigned Prince Mstislav Romanovich to the grand principality of Kiev, while Mstislav Mstislavich, himself, remained prince of Novgorod; and Ingvar Iaroslavich, grandson of Iziaslav, remained in Lutsk. From Kiev he [Mstislav Mstislavich] marched to Chernigov besieging that city for twelve days, and then he concluded peace and all returned home.

The same year[57] Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov laid the foundation of the church of the Most Pure Theotokos in the place of the collapsed church.

The same year[58] a son, Dmitrii—called by the clan name,

53. 6721 (1213) in *Hyp.*

54. By Russia, here, again, is meant the regions around Kiev.

55. See year 1212.

56. 6721 (1213) in *Hyp.*

57. 6721 (1213) in *Laur.*

58. 6723 (1215) in *Laur.*

Vsevolod—was born to Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich.

The same year[59] Grand Prince Mstislav Mstislavich travelled from Novgorod to the king of Hungary, asking the principality of Galich for himself: but he left his princess and his son in Novgorod. In the meantime the Novgorodians sent to Pereiaslavl', which is on Lake Kleshchino, for Iaroslav Vsevolodich [son of Great Nest], asking him to be their prince. **1215**

WAR BETWEEN MSTISLAV TOROPETSKII AND IAROSLAV VSEVOLODICH OF PEREIASLAVL' AND THE BATTLE OF LIPITSA[60]

In the year 6723 [1215].[61] A son was born to Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov; in baptism he received the name, Dmitrii, and he was given [the clan] name, Vladimir. The same year[62] Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov sent his spiritual father, Pachomius, Abbot of St. Peter's, to Kiev to Matthew, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, to be consecrated bishop of Rostov. He was elevated in the month of December and came to Rostov in the month of January. The same year Prince Iurii Vsevolodich sent Simeon, Abbot of the Monastery of the Nativity of the Most Pure Theotokos, to Kiev to Matthew, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, to be consecrated bishop of Suzdal' and of Vladimir.[63] And he was consecrated bishop of Suzdal' and Vladimir. The same year[64] Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov laid on his estate in Rostov the foundation of the stone church of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb.

The same year the Novgorodians, according to their old custom, secretly assembled their veche. They wanted to cast out of Novgorod their lord, Prince Mstislav Mstislavich, and much was spoken concerning this in the veche. They acted thus because

59. 6723 (1215) in *Laur.*

60. *Nik.* closely follows the description of this war and the battle of Lipitsa as it was written in *Novg. Syn.* under 6717 (1209) and, especially, 6724 (1216). In *Nik.* this war takes most of the entries, 6723 (1215) and 6724 (1216).

61. In 6721 (1213) in *Hyp.*

62. In 6722 (1214) in *Hyp.*

63. This was the division of the ancient diocese of Rostov. The princes of the city of Vladimir finally received their own bishop.

64. In the year 6722 (1214) in *Laur.*

1215 Prince Mstislav Mstislavich [Toropetskii] was very intelligent, brave, and always careful in his actions; and therefore the Novgorodians did not succeed quickly in casting him out of Novgorod. When he learned that the Novgorodians wanted to be rid of him, he grew vexed and went to the King of Hungary requesting the principality of Galich; but he left his princess and his son in Novgorod.

The Novgorodians rejoiced that they were quit of their prince and they sent Iurii Ivanovich to Vladimir to Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich, and also sent to Pereiaslavl', which is on Lake Pleshcheevo,[65] asking [his brother] Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich to be prince in Novgorod. And they prayed Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich that he urge his brother, Iaroslav, to go to Novgorod to be prince there. Iaroslav came to them, to Novgorod, and when he arrived he arrested posadnik Iakim Zubets and another posadnik, Foma Dobrynych, and jailed them in Tver'. Fedor Lazutich denounced Varnava as one who had much gold, as well as Iakun Nezhich, who had an endless amount of gold; and the prince arrested them both. Then the Novgorodians summoned the veche and there was much discussion and furor during this veche; and the Novgorodians ran, armed, to the estate of Iakun and sacked and burned the estate and seized his wife and his children. Prince Iaroslav arrested Khristofor, the posadnik's son, while the Novgorodians seized his important steward, Astrapa,[66] killed him, and caught his son, Leontii,[67] and cut off his nose, lips and ears and threw him into the water.

Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich was greatly incensed by their deeds and went from Novgorod to Torzhok, where he cut off the merchants' routes, and he would not allow any grain to go to Novgorod. Then he stopped a large number of the merchants, and so in Novgorod a barrel of rye sold for ten grivnas, and a barrel of oats for three grivnas, and a cart of beets for two grivnas, and a great famine arose there. And they would trade their children into slavery in order to get bread; and in the cemetery there were many dead and the men were not even buried; and the dogs would not even eat the dead men. And everywhere in the

65. Pleshcheevo: "Kleshchino" in *Nik.*

66. Astrapa: "Ostrata" in *Novg. Syn.*, 6723 (1215).

67. Lugota in *Novg. Syn.*, 6723 (1215).

cities, in the rural districts, in the towns and in the fields, **1215**
everywhere lay the dead. Those who remained alive escaped be-
yond the sea.

Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich sent to them in Novgorod Varoka and Ponos[68] and he brought from Novgorod his princess, and caught all the Novgorodian traders, of whom 2,000 were arrested. He put them in irons and sent them to prisons in his cities. He even arrested the Novgorodian envoys, posadnik Iurii Ivanovich, Stefan Tverdislavich, Semen Borisovich, Viacheslav Klement'evich, Terentii Temnik, Manuil Iagolchevich, Iakun Dankov, and many others who were known far and wide for their distinction, honor and wealth. The Novgorodians were very saddened by this, and they wept and convened the veche; and there was much talk and great clamor in the veche. They wept and grieved about their former prince, Mstislav Mstislavich, recalling his friendliness, bravery and his victory over enemies. So, deliberating, they dispatched an envoy to him, asking him to forget their madness, forgive all their evildoings, and come back to them, to Novgorod, to be prince there. He listened to them and came to Novgorod on the eleventh day of the month of February; and he arrested Khokhota Grigor'evich, a namestnik of Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich; and another of his lords, Iakov Stanislavich; and all his dvoriane; and all of those of his men who remained in Novgorod; and he put them in irons and jailed them. The Novgorodians liked him and became united with him, to remain in unity, be it death or life!

The same year Prince Mstislav Mstislavich, of Novgorod, with Prince Vladimir Riurikovich of Smolensk and Prince Vladimir of Pskov, decided to do battle against Iaroslav Vsevolodich, who was in Torzhok; and they sent to him, saying, "Brother Iaroslav Vsevolodich! Depart from Torzhok and go to your patrimony of Suzdal'. If you do not, there will be war between us." He, however, responded to them, "This is as much your patrimony as it is mine," and he would not depart.

The same year Riurik Rostislavich, [former] Grand Prince of Kiev who ruled then in Chernigov, passed away.

The same year Prince Vladimir Vsevolodich in Pereiaslavl'

68. Varoka and Ponos: "Ivor" and "Chapanos," according to *Novg. Syn.*, 6723 (1215).

1216 Russkii married the daughter of Prince Gleb Sviatoslavich of Chernigov. The same year Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov in the city of Iaroslav' laid the foundation on his estate of a stone church of the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos. The same year Prince Vladimir Vsevolodich[69] of Pereiaslavl' marched from Pereiaslavl' Russkii against the Polovetss, whom they met on the river; and they fought fiercely for the crossing of the river and many on both sides were killed. Then the Polovetss crossed the river by a way unknown to him and they began to clamor and shoot, and they defeated the Christians, captured Prince Vladimir Vsevolodich, himself, and killed two brave bogatyrs—Dmitrii and Ivan. Also, they killed many boiars and voevodas, and returned home with a large number of captives, taking with them Grand Prince Vladimir Vsevolodich, himself.

In the year 6724/1216. Pachomius, Bishop of Rostov, passed away. After he became tonsured, he lived in Kiev in the Cave Monastery for five years; and for thirteen years he was the shepherd of his spiritual flock in the monastery of St. Peter; and then he was bishop of Rostov for two years. And so he passed away to God. Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich, together with Simeon, Bishop of Suzdal' and Vladimir, and with the entire Sacred Council, honorably buried his relics in the Church of the Most Pure Theotokos in Rostov. The same year Matthew, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, consecrated as bishop of Rostov, Cyril, a monk from the metropolitan monastery of St. Demetrius in Suzdal'. The same year Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich laid the foundation of a stone church in the monastery of the Holy Transfiguration in Iaroslavl'.

The same year Prince Mstislav Mstislavich [Toropetskii] marched with Novgorodians from Novgorod against his son-in-law, Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich; but some treacherous people ran from his host over to Iaroslav Vsevolodich, his son-in-law. Theywere Vladislav Zavidovich, Gavrilo Igorevich, Iurii Alekseevich and Gavrilo Miliatinich; and they took with them their wives and their children. Then the Novgorodians [under Mstislav] marched to Sereger, and when they were on the upper reaches of the Volga Prince Mstislav Mstislavich marched forward with Prince Vladimir of Pskov and took the town of Zubtsev; and then

69. 6724 (1216) in *Sim.*

when they were camped on the Volga they were joined by Prince Vladimir Riurikovich of Smolensk with the levies of Smolensk. **1216**

Then they camped in Kholkhna, and from thence they sent to Torzhok to Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, offering him peace. Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, however, answered, "What manner of peace do you desire? If you want to fight, then come. Even a rabbit follows blood when he runs. And we are so numerous that to every hundred of our men, you have only one." Prince Mstislav, Vladimir and the Novgorodians deliberated, "What does this mean? We want peace, but he wants to fight. What will happen?" The men of Iaroslav Vsevolodich assembled the people of Tver' and built abattis on the highways to Novgorod, and fortified the river Tvertsa. Mstislav Mstislavich with the Novgorodians wanted to march to Torzhok, but did not, saying, "If we march to Torzhok we will devastate our Novgorodian domain."

And so they marched toward Tver' and began to occupy towns, to capture and to burn; but they had no tidings from Iaroslav Vsevolodich concerning his whereabouts—whether in Torzhok or in Tver'. When Iaroslav learned that his estates and towns had been robbed and occupied, he marched from Torzhok to Tver', taking with him [his prisoners], the senior and best men of Novgorod. Then he selected the young ones and all the people of Novyi Torzhok, sending them as a vanguard. When they had proceeded as far as fifteen versts beyond the city of Tver' they found there the other princes [Mstislav, *et al.*] with the Novgorodian host. Prince Mstislav sent against them Iarun with the selected troops, expecting a great battle. Prince Iaroslav's vanguard met them but God aided Iarun, who captured thirty-three of Iaroslav's vanguard and he killed seven, and the others escaped to Tver'.

It was their first victory over them [Iaroslav's host] and it happened on the day of the Annunciation of the Most Holy Theotokos during the fifth week of Holy Lent; then they received tidings that Prince Iaroslav was in Tver', and therefore they started to scatter on raids, not fearing him. From thence they sent the boiar, Iavold, of Prince Vladimir of Pskov, to Rostov, to Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov, and Prince Vladimir of Pskov sent the troops of Pskov and Smolensk to accompany him to

1216 the border. Then they marched along the Volga, fighting, and burned Shosha and Dubna, while Prince Vladimir with his troops from Pskov and Smolensk took the city of Konstantin and burned the entire land of the [upper] Volga. There they were met by voevoda Eremei, who was sent to them by Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov, who told them, "Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich greets you! He is glad to hear of your coming and he has sent me with five hundred men to aid you. Please send to him his brother-in-law, Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich, grandson of Roman, with all tidings."

They sent him Prince Vsevolod, his brother-in-law, and they, themselves, marched down the Volga. Leaving their carts, they mounted horses and advanced, fighting, toward Pereiaslavl'. On the first day of Easter, the ninth day of the month of April, they came to [the monastery of] Holy Mary in Gorodishche on the river Saria, [Sarra in *Novg. Syn.*] and they were joined there by Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich with the levies of Rostov, who came from Rostov. When they met, they embraced each other, rejoicing greatly, and they gave an oath on the cross to be united and of the same mind. From hence they sent Prince Vladimir of Pronsk to Rostov, and themselves, in the week of St. Thomas, [the second week after Easter] they marched to Pereiaslavl'.

Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich retreated to his brother, Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich [of Vladimir] and there they assembled all their forces, including those men of Novgorod and the men of Novyi Torzhok [who were for Iaroslav]. [At the same time] Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich and all his brothers marched from Vladimir with strong forces; they had very strong troops, having assembled a great many people, including the villagers on foot. It was verily an astonishing situation: children marched against their fathers, and fathers against their children; brothers against brothers, and slaves against their masters.

Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich with his brothers and with the entire force camped on the river Gza. [Khza in *Novg. Syn.*] [On the other side] Prince Mstislav Mstislavich with Prince Vladimir Riurikovich of Smolensk and all their forces camped near Iur'ev; and Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov camped on the river Lipitsa with all his forces; and with him were two valiant men,

Dobrynia the Golden Belt, and Alesha Popovich with his squire, **1216**
Torop, all famous bogatyrs.[70] Then they [Mstislav, Vladimir and
Konstantin] sent to Iurii and to Iaroslav, asking for peace; but
there still was no peace; and then again Prince Mstislav Mstislavich
sent to his son-in-law, Prince Iaroslav, saying, "Novgorod is mine
and the people of Novgorod are also mine, and I am theirs. And
these people of Novgorod and Novyi Torzhok weep and complain
about you to Lord God and His Most Pure Mother Theotokos,
and they complain to me how you injured them. Release the mer-
chants of Novgorod and the people of Novyi Torzhok, and give
up Volok and the other Novgorodian lands. Then you can live in
peace with the people of Novgorod by confirming it with an oath
on the cross. We should behave in such wise, not shedding Chris-
tian blood and not appropriating that which does not belong to
us; and we should not interfere in the domains of others. And as
far as Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich is concerned, we have
nothing to do with him. There was neither offense nor violence
between us."

Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, however, replied, "I do not want
any peace and I will return you the captives and that which I took
will remain with me. If I want, I will execute all these Novgoro-
dians. You are unaware [of what I can do] because of your great
stupidity. You have come hither too far, just as a sheep might
approach a lion; or a lamb, a bear; and now you are as pigs in a
field, or fish on dry land."[71]

Prince Mstislav Mstislavich, Prince Vladimir Riurikovich of
Smolensk, Prince Vladimir of Pskov and Prince Vsevolod Mstis-
lavich, grandson of Roman, listened to this and let it be known to

70. Here is another later interpolation of heroic epics, with boga-
tyrs, into the earlier text. In D.S. Likhachev's opinion, Aleksandr or
Alesha Popovich was really the main hero of the battle of Lipitsa. He
was with the Rostov forces. T.O.D.R.L. Vol. 7 (1949), pp. 46-48.

71. In *Novg. Syn.*; in *Laur.*, and in *Suzd. Acad.*, where we find the
earliest version of the story of this battle of Lipitsa, Iaroslav's speech is
much shorter and his similes are limited to only, "You are like fish on dry
land." Most of the subsequent speeches are expanded and embellished,
probably, by the compiler of *Nik.* or an earlier chronicle, especially *Musc.
Late XV*. PSRL. Both bogatyrs, Alesha Popovich and Dobrynia the
Golden Belt, are popular heroes of the Russian bylinas, and neither is
mentioned in *Novg. Syn.* or *Novg. Kom.*; see previous footnote.

1216 Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov, and all were astounded at it. Then they sent their final word to Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich, saying, "Brothers Iurii and Iaroslav! Are you aware that we are of the same family and of the same clan, and that we have come hither not to do battle but to make peace; not to shed blood but to stop the unceasing bloodshed? You should care for truth, for our God and for your brethren. 'He who loves God but hates his brother, lies,' says the Apostle [1 John 4:20]. And you, Prince Iurii Vsevolodich, should turn over to your senior brother, Konstantin Vsevolodich, the great principality [of Vladimir] and the throne of the great principality. And keep for yourselves only the land of Suzdal' because you are junior brother. And cease annoying me, Prince Mstislav Mstislavich, because I do not like being offended. All my concern is that Christian blood not be shed." Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich and his brethren were affronted at this, flew into a rage and answered them. "You are not aware how fast you may come hither and how you may leave. Please tell my brother, Konstantin, fight us if you want to and if you overcome us, then the entire land may be yours."

And so Prince Iurii Vsevolodich, his brother, Iaroslav Vsevolodich, and his other brothers became enraged and furious because they relied on their large host; for, indeed, they had gathered many troops. And so, infuriated, they began banqueting with their boiars in their tents; and then they inquired of each boiar how to attack the other during battle.

They all spoke, but one of them—the old boiar, Andrei Stanislavich, did not speak at all, and they believed that he was too old and was feeble of mind. Therefore they did not insist with him; but when they finally asked him what to do with those enemies, he replied, "Princes Iurii and Iaroslav! I am old and I have little understanding; yet, because of my old age, I believe it would be better to make peace and accept the seniority of your elder brother, Konstantin Vsevolodich, to liberate the Novgorodian lands and people, not to desire anything which is not yours, not to interfere in lands which do not belong to you; but to be aware of your own people and care for them, and concerning this you must be firm. Do not count upon the fact that they have few soldiers, while your own host is large and numberless; and do not forget that the princes of Rostislav's kin are wise and courageous.

Also, the levies of Novgorod, Pskov and Smolensk are eager in battle, and you know, yourself, Prince Mstislav Mstislavich! God gave him more courage than to anyone else, and his men are valiant and great bogatyrs. They are like lions and bears, and they pay no heed to their wounds. You know, yourself, about your elder brother, Konstantin; you know that he is right and he must be accepted as senior. He has such brave men as Aleksandr Popovich and the latter's squire, Torop; and Dobrynia the Golden Belt, of Riazan'; and Nefed' Dikun. Indeed, I have little wit and my mind is dulled with age, even as I speak these words. You may do as is pleasing to God and to you!" Grand Prince Iurii and his brothers became infuriated and mad as hops at him, and began to rush furiously hither and thither because they did not like this speech. **1216**

Then the boiars told him, "Well, Prince! Why are you concerned? Do you know that he has lost his wits with age and does not know what he says?" Then another boiar approached them, saying, "Our lords, Princes Iurii and Iaroslav! You should know that never—neither in the time of your forefathers nor of your grandfathers nor of your fathers—no one who has ever entered your Suzdalian land in order to fight us has ever departed in good health or received what he desired; this has never happened before; albeit even if the entire Russian land—the land of Galich, Kiev, Chernigov, Riazan', Smolensk, Novgorod, Polotsk and Pskov—campaigned against you, they would be unable to overcome you! And what else should I say? Even if the whole of the Polovetsian land were to march with them, then we would mark their saddles and crush their fists. If your eager army is willing to fight with all their hearts and all their fury against the enemy, then no one can resist them."

Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich and his brother, Iaroslav, and their brothers and all their men liked such words and became overjoyed and gay, and summoned the warriors, telling them, "Brethren! Endeavor with all your strength against the enemy; the booty has already come into your hands. Therefore, battle without cease and you will gain horses, armour and coats; and capture no one alive, because if you capture someone alive, then you will be killed, yourself, by him. And those who are adorned with silver, gold and pearls—kill them. Leave not one alive! If one

1216 of you deserts his troops because of your carelessness or negligence, you will be hanged and hacked to pieces for this heedlessness and forbearance. And as far as their princes are concerned, we will think what to do with them when they come into our hands." And so, having given their orders to their men, they let them go.

Thereupon Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich and his brother, Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, with all their kin, boiars and men, went to the tents and began distributing the cities [they would win from their enemies] among them. Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich would have Vladimir and Rostov; Novgorod would go to Iaroslav Vsevolodich; Smolensk, to Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich. "From Kiev we will receive tribute and we will put a prince there who will obey us. From Galich we will also receive tribute!" And then they gave their oaths on the cross and wrote charters about this—that this decision should not be broken. After the battle these charters were found by the men of Smolensk in the tents of these princes, and they brought them to their own princes. When they had redistributed the [unconquered] cities among them, they rejoiced and sent to Prince Mstislav Mstislavich, saying, "Brother Mstislav! It seems to us that you have altogether forgotten that you have come hither with these ignorant savage men of Novgorod and with these witless men of Smolensk! It would be a blessing for you not to heed them." And then they began preparing for battle.

Prince Mstislav Mstislavh, Prince Vladimir of Smolensk, Prince Vladimir of Pskov and Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich, grandson of Roman, asked Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov, "If you intend to be in unanimity with us and not change your mind, then let us confirm it with an oath on the Venerable and Lifegiving Cross of Christ;" and so, sealing [their alliance] with an oath on the cross, they went into battle.

That night they [Iurii's and Iaroslav's troops] all were sore afraid; they remained awake and in arms all night, and there was much clamor and disputation in their tents. Hearing it, Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich with his kin, themselves, began to fear; and then the aged boiar who had spoken to them of peace came to them again, and said, "It seems that I notice that you are ready to flee! Did I not tell you, although I am witless, that it would be better to make peace and not to see your men dead and in blood?

Now it seems that you are frightened and want to escape. You will see! Something much worse will happen to you because you did not care for it [peace]!" They abused him, however, and dismissed him brutally. **1216**

On the morrow, the princes [Iurii, *et al.*] came to Lipitsy, where they were to prepare for the battle. Still at night they entered the deep forest, selected a well-protected place, felled trees across approaches, built abatis and took up a position with their host on Mount Avdova.

For their part, Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov, Mstislav Mstislavich of Novgorod, Prince Vladimir of Smolensk and Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich, grandson of Roman, with their regiments, aligned themselves on the other hill, called Mount George. Between these hills there was a small river, named Tugen'; and they dispatched a messenger to Iurii Vsevolodich, saying, "Either accept peace or retreat to a flat place so it will be possible to fight fairly! Otherwise, we will retreat to Lipitsy and then you will have to attack us!" Iurii Vsevolodich with his kin and with all his forces, however, remained in their protected position, which was reinforced with logs, fences and abatis. From that fortified place they replied, "We want no peace, nor will we move out from hence. You are the bold ones and you have advanced too long; now you are unable to cross this deep forest to come to us. Pass through these marshes and this deep forest: it is customary for pigs to feed in forests and for the crucian carp to wallow in mud!"

Then they [Mstislav *et al.*] sent young soldiers to do battle, and they fought all day but did not succeed in the least; the others were in a well-fortified position and, consequently, were not eager to fight [in the open field]; furthermore, throughout the day there was heavy rain and severe cold. At that time, Prince Vladimir of Pskov came from Rostov and they began to confer regarding how to proceed. Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov told them, "Let us march, bypassing them, and then they will try to attack us in our rear. Maybe some are not eager to fight; but I may say of mine that they are all united by their kinship, by their common background and by their relationship." And Prince Mstislav Mstislavich said, "The mountain can neither aid nor defeat us. Our only help lies in God, and God will aid those who are

1216 right. So let us march against them and not fear anything."

They marshalled their troops. Prince Vladimir Riurikovich of Smolensk aligned his regiments on the very edge. Next to him was Prince Mstislav Mstislavich of Novgorod and Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich, grandson of Roman, with the levies of Novgorod; then was Prince Vladimir with his Pskovian levies; and next to him was Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov with his regiments. Opposite Prince Vladimir Riurikovich of Smolensk was Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich with his regiments, and opposite Prince Mstislav Mstislavich and all the levies of Novgorod was Grand Prince Vsevolodich himself, with his regiments, while the junior brother of Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich took up a position opposite Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov. And so they began to move into battle, and there were great forces; and fright and terror descended upon all because men of the same kin and the same people shed blood in vain; many wept, fearing God. It was a very sunny and hot day; but then the wind arose and the clouds came and there was unceasing thunder and lightning which struck fearfully, and all were in awe. The two hosts stood motionless facing each other, yet unwilling to make peace; and they became enraged like beasts.

Prince Mstislav Mstislavich addressed his levies of Novgorod and Smolensk: "Brethren! We have entered a strange and alien land. None can help us but God and justice. Let us be brave and strong! Let us not look back. Let us not think of flight. If we flee, we will not escape because either death or life is before us all. Let us be ready to die righteously for each other, and then God will be with us. Let us forget our homes, our wives, our children and our possessions, and let us initiate the action, both footmen and horsemen!"

The men of Novgorod answered, "Our lord Prince! Some of us are horsemen, so those will fight on horseback; others are footmen, and they will fight on foot! We are ready to do battle with all our hearts and all our will!" And so the footmen marched first; and behind them, Prince Vladimir's voevoda, Ivor; but many Novgorodians dismounted their horses and marched on foot because it was a wild forest.[72] When they entered the wild forest, the

72. In *Novg. Syn.* and *Novg. Kom.*, which contain the earliest description of the battle of Lipitsa, there is a picturesque detail: "The Novgorodians dismounted their horses, cast off their coats and their boots [proba-

horse under voevoda Ivor fell; but, not waiting for Ivor, the footmen marched with a roar through the wildwood and charged Iaroslav's footmen with axes and maces; the others fought them, and it was an evil battle. They slashed Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich's banner, while Ivor, with the levies of Smolensk and with the horsemen, slashed the other's banner. **1216**

Seeing this, Prince Mstislav Mstislavich said to Vladimir, "Do you see, brother, how well these good men do battle? Let us go to aid them!" And so Prince Vladimir Riurikovich of Smolensk attacked with his regiments [on horse] through the line of their own footmen. Prince Vladimir of Pskov, Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich, grandson of Roman with his druzhina, and Great Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Rostov with his regiments also hurried to help them. The massacre began and blood flowed like water. Prince Mstislav Mstislavich with his regiments thrice penetrated Iurii's and Iaroslav's regiments. He was very stalwart, manly, strong and eager for battle. He had a battle axe in hand and slew mercilessly; but, being eager to fight, he went too far. Aleksandr Popovich approached [not recognizing] him, with an unsheathed sword in hand, about to slash him in twain because he was powerful and a valiant bogatyr'; but the latter cried, "I am Prince Mstislav Mstislavich of Novgorod!" and the other gaped at him; and thus he was saved by God from death. Aleksandr Popovich told him, "Prince! Do not be too bold, but stop and take cognizance! If you, the head of the army, are killed, what will the others do?" And the princes charged through the enemy's troops, reaching Iurii's camp.[73]

Prince Iurii Vsevolodich with his kin had already escaped at noon, fleeing to Vladimir, having commenced fighting before the noon meal. These hosts of Suzdal' were defeated on the twenty-first day of the month of April, on Tuesday of the second week after Easter.[74] A great multitude of them were slain and others were trampled in the river while fleeing.[75] Prince Iurii fled to Vladimir in only a shirt and so did his brother, Iaroslav, just in a

bly because of the swampy ground] and charged the enemy barefoot, like deer."

73. *Laptev ms.*

74. In 6724 (1216), in *Nik.*, *Novg. Syn.* and *Novg. Kom.*; 6725 (1217) in *Laur.*

75. *Laptev ms.*

1216 shirt. Three horses fell under him, and he arrived in Vladimir on a fourth. There was great lamenting in Vladimir. Toward evening the wounded and injured began to enter the city of Vladimir, "Brethren! Close the gates and let us fight!" They replied, however, "With whom can we resist? Of our brethren, children and servants—some are killed, others are captured, and those who escaped hither are weaponless. Only the injured and wounded remain." And he responded, "I know all this; but, please, do not turn me over either to my brother, Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich, or to Prince Mstislav Mstislavich, or to the other princes or voevodas. I will surrender of my own will."

His brother, Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, also escaped to Pereiaslavl' only a shirt, on a fifth horse because four had fallen under him. He prepared that city of Pereiaslavl' where those merchants whom he caught were jailed, for siege. Then he ordered that the merchants of Novgorod, Novyi Torzhok and Smolensk all be thrown into dungeons, some in narrow houses, where 315 merchants of Novgorod died, asphyxiated.[76] But ninety merchants of Smolensk remained alive.

The [allied] princes [Mstislav, Konstantin, *a.o.*] remained on the battlefield until nightfall, beholding the myriad fallen Christians. In this battle were slain the brave men of Pskov, Dmitrii Zheltyi and Antonii, called Chernyi [Black] and Ivan Pribytok, as well as the brave and valiant Novgorodians, Ivan Popovich and his squire, Nestor; and Prince Mstislav greatly bewailed them. Altogether, there were 550 men of Novgorod, Smolensk, Rostov and Pskov killed, not including the footmen; and in the host of Grand Prince Iurii and his kin, there were 17,200 killed not counting the footmen.[77]

So they marched toward Vladimir and halted before the city on Sunday toward dinner. The same night a fire started in the city. The Novgorodians wanted to enter the city, but Prince Mstislav Mstislavich did not let them. The city continued to burn on Monday and Tuesday night; now the men of Smolensk, also,

76. 150 in *Laptev ms.*

77. According to *Laptev ms.*, Prince Mstislav and his allied troops lost six men, while Iurii's and Iaroslav's troops lost 9,233 men. *Novg. Syn.*, *Novg. Kom.* and *Laur. Acad.*, give: Mstislav's troops lost five, while Iurii's troops lost sixty men.

wanted to enter the city; but Prince Vladimir Riurikovich of **1216**
Smolensk did not let them.

On the morrow Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich sent greetings to them, saying, "Today I will leave the city; only leave me my life!" And so he departed from the city with his two brothers, and they bowed to the princes and he said to Prince Mstislav and Vladimir, "I bow to you and petition: leave me my life and give me bread to eat. My brother, Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich, is your ally; but do not turn me over to him, to death." Prince Mstislav Mstislavich, both Vladimirs and Vsevolod decided among them what was just, and made their peaceful decision: the senior brother, Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich, received the grand principalities of Vladimir and Rostov, while his brother, Iurii Vsevolodich, [received] the town of Radilov.[78] Boats were prepared for him and Bishop Simon, who joined him; and Prince Iurii Vsevolodich went to the Church of the Most Pure Theotokos, bowed to the earth before his father's grave and, weeping, said, "God! Judge my brother, Iaroslav, whither he has lead me!" Then, together with Bishop Simon, with his princess, with his children, with his men and with a small druzhina, he went to the boats and thence to the town of Radilov.

Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich entered the city of Vladimir, and all the citizens went to meet him with crosses. Prince Mstislav Mstislavich, with both Vladimirs and with Vsevolod, assisted him when he ascended to his father's throne of the grand principality of Vladimir.

Then they marched to Pereiaslavl' against Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich. When they arrived at the city, Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich appealed to them for peace. It was Friday of the third week after Easter.[79] On Tuesday of the fourth week after Easter Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, himself, came out of the city, bowed deeply to his senior brother, Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich, and said, "My lord brother! I am in your hand. Only do not turn me over to either my father-in-law or to Prince Mstislav Mstislavich of Novgorod, or to Prince Vladimir of Smolensk, or to Prince Vladimir of Pskov, or to Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich,

78. Radilov, also Gorodets or Gradets Radilov, a town on the Volga in the Suzdalian land.

79. In *Nik.*, erroneously, fifth week.

1217 grandson of Roman! Leave me my life and give me bread to eat!"

Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich arranged the conditions for peace between Prince Mstislav Mstislavich and his own brother, Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, who was Mstislav's son-in-law. Then Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich gave many gifts to all and confirmed [the conditions] by giving his oath on the cross. Prince Mstislav Mstislavich accepted the gifts but he took back his daughter, Iaroslav's wife, as well as those Novgorodian merchants and those of Novyi Torzhok and of Smolensk who had been captured by Iaroslav Vsevolodich and who survived in his dungeons and jails. Iaroslav Vsevolodich sent to him, petitioning and appealing, "Excuse my guilt and do not take away my wife, your daughter! Every man can be guilty, and we are vain in this vain life. Who is without sin and who can boast of a pure heart? We are all in trouble and sinful, and I am the worst and most sinful in this world. But now I, verily, repent, and the power of the cross will not permit me to transgress justice." His father-in-law, Prince Mstislav Mstislavich, however, did not give him back his daughter, the former's wife, saying, "Let us hear and see how, verily, you repent!" And so Prince Mstislav Mstislavich took his daughter, Iaroslav's wife, and went with her to Novgorod, and with the Novgorodian [merchants]. And Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich went to Vladimir, while Prince Vladimir Riurikovich went to Smolensk. And the other Vladimir, the prince of Pskov, went to Pskov.

The same year in the month of August Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich, grandson of Roman, marched with the levies of Novgorod against Riga.

[CARNAGE IN RIAZAN']

In the year 6725/1217.[80] Prince Gleb Vladimirich of Riazan' was instructed by Satan to commit fratricide, and he conspired with his brother, Konstantin. Earlier[81] these two calumniated their uncles and their brothers, shed much blood and committed many murders, and now, for the second time, they conspired to kill all their kin because they wanted to keep all the power in their dominion only for themsleves. They forgot that it said in the

80. 6724/(1216) in *Laur.*

81. See the entry under the year 6716/(1208).

Scriptures, "God bestoweth power upon whomsoever He wants. **1217**
The Almightly assigneth tsars and princes, and He raiseth the poor and he may set him with princes [Ps.113:17. Dan. 5:21, paraphrased] and whosoever resists His will speak against Him." [Rom. 9:19] "God hath done whatsoever He pleases." [Ps. 115:3] Why did you [Gleb and Konstantin] forget the trembling and sighs of Cain, the punishment of Lemech and the end of your kinsman, Sviatopolk?

These two brothers met together in Isady[82] under the pretext of holding council with their brother, Prince Iziaslav Vladimirich and their cousins, Prince Kyr Mikhailo Vsevolodich and Rostislav Sviatoslavich—all of them the children of two brothers. There also came another Prince Gleb and Prince Roman [both their kin]. They [Gleb and Konstantin] invited them as if out of friendship to a banquet of honor. All these six[83] kin came to them, each with his boiars and his squires; and they entered their tent. The accursed Gleb with his brother, Konstantin, sent against them their own squires and a large number of Polovetss with weapons, and they hid them in another tent which served as sleeping quarters in the vicinity of the banquet tent; and no one knew of this other than these evil-minded princes and their accursed councillors. And so they began to drink and rejoice, but at that moment Gleb and Konstantin sent the murderers against them and they, themselves, also took up swords and began to slay the princes, their boiars and their druzhina. And they killed five counsins, and the sixth[84] whom they killed was their brother, Prince Iziaslav. Prince Ingvar Igorevich, their cousin, did not come to this evil banquet because his time had not yet arrived and because God interceded on his behalf and saved him from an evil death. They [Gleb and Konstantin of Riazan'] slew an endless number of boiars and squires [of their own kin] and they themselves, escaped to the Polovetss. These evil murders occurred on the twentieth day of July when the Holy Prophet Elias is remembered. And so Prince Ingvar Igorevich became prince of Riazan'.

82. *Isady:* Old Russian word for a river port, or the proper name of a settlement at a river port.

83. Actually, only five; the sixth, Prince Ingvar Igorevich, who was also invited, was delayed and escaped the carnage. See below.

84. See preceding footnote.

1217 The same year Prince Mstislav Mstislavich went to Kiev, leaving his princess and his son, Vasilii, in Novgorod; and he took with him Iurii Ivanovich, Buslav Stafanovich and Aleksei Putilovich.

ABOUT THE RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE BROTHERS KONSTANTIN AND IURII VSEVOLODICH.

The same year Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich sent to the town of Radilov for his brother, Iurii Vsevolodich. When he came to him they established fast friendship between them and he gave him many gifts, as well as to his bishop Simeon, to his princess, to his children, his boiars and his dvoriane; and even during his own life Konstantin gave him Suzdal', telling him, "Brother! We are all in trouble and sin. Naked we have left our mothers' wombs and thus we will die. [Ecc. 5:14; Job1:21 paraphrased] We can not add anything to this word, nor can we take anything out of it."[85] He let him go to Suzdal', and the latter entered Suzdal' on September eleventh, and Bishop Simeon returned to his bishoprics.

[ABOUT VLADIMIR VSEVOLODICH]

The same winter Vladimir Vsevolodich returned from the Polovetss to his brothers and they gave him Starodub and other domains.

The same year Prince Vladimir came to Novgorod on his business. At that time the Lithuanians were campaigning on the river Shelon'; the Novgorodians followed them but could not catch them, so they advanced with Prince Vladimir toward Bear's Head. The others [the Lithuanians] began to petition them cunningly because they sent for the Germans to help them; but the Novgorodians perceived their cunning and advanced unnoticed toward their camps. The latter fled to their city and the Novgorodians killed two of their voevodas and captured a third alive, and they also captured 700 horses and returned home. Prince Mstislav Mstislavich came to Novgorod from Kiev without them and arrested Stanimir with his son. He put him in irons, imprisoned him and confiscated many of his estates and much wealth, then released him.

85. The further text is from *Laptev ms.*

The same years the merchants' side of the city of Novgorod burned and during the fire fifteen churches burned. **1218**

[ECCLASIASTIC EVENTS IN SUZDALIA]

In the year 6726/1218. On May sixth Grand Prince Vladimir Vsevolodich laid the foundation of a stone church of the Elevation of the Holy Cross in the marketplace of Vladimir; the same year the building was completed and the church was consecrated on the fourteenth day of the month of September.

The same year the bishop of Polotsk came from Constatinople to Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich. He knew of his desires and love for the building of churches, for the holy icons and holy relics and for everything that is pious and leads to salvation and to the life eternal. He brought him a piece of the Passion [cross][86] because Our Lord God Jesus Christ suffered for our sake at the hands of the Jews. He also brought the relics of the Holy Martyr Centurion Loginus—both his hands; as well as relics of Holy Mary Magdalene. Prince Konstantin greatly rejoiced upon receiving [these relics] and ordered that they be placed in the Monastery of the Resurrection outside the city beyond the Golden Gate. On the morrow Grand Prince Konstantin ordered a procession from the Cathedral of the Holy Theotokos and the Church of St. Demetrius, and the bishop and entire clergy with crosses, and all people and he, himself, with his princess, children and boiars, went to the Monastery of the Holy Resurrection. The bishop placed in his hand this sacred reliquary with this unspeakable treasure and then all proceeded into the city to put it in the Church of St. Demetrius, singing and glorifying Our God Jesus Christ. Then, first the bishop and Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich, and then all the Orthodox people venerated the relics. On the morrow there was a religious feast because it was Sunday, the day when Holy Martyr Loginus is remembered.

The same year in Rostov on the twenty-fifth day of the month of August the Church of the holy Passion Martyrs Boris and Gleb was consecrated by Bishop Cyril. Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich, with his children, Vasil'ko and Vladimir, attended the ceremony and offered a great banquet honoring the bishop, the boyars and all the people. And he distributed alms to the poor and to the

86. A piece of the cross on which Christ suffered.

1218 paupers. Such was the habit of this prince because, above all, he bore love and mercy toward everyone.

The same year Prince Vladimir Vsevolodich, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii returned to his kin from the Polovetss, and his brother gave him Starodub and other domains.[87]

[THE INSTRUCTION, DEATH, AND ENCOMIUM OF PRINCE KONSTANTIN VSEVOLODICH]

The same year [6726(1218)] Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich summoned his sons, Vasil'ko and Vsevolod, his magnates, boiars and councillors, and he addressed them the following speech:

"This vain life passes rapidly: today you are born, tomorrow you grow up, and then, little by little, come gray hair, old age and death; and after death, the Last Judgment by Our Saviour, at which everyone will receive according to his deeds—some, Paradise, and some, torments. And in this present vain life all people, from their youth to their old age and death, march [symbolically] on a ladder which begins at one end and ends at the other. And thus does human life resemble an apparition in a dream: in a dream, man sometimes sees good and sometimes evil, and upon arising he does not remember or ponder it, and considers that it is not of importance. And such is human life, which is also not of importance, just as a dream or smoke: today man lives and tomorrow he dies."

I, myself, see my approaching departure, and therefore I entrust my small children to Lord God and His Most Pure Mother, and to my brother and lord, Prince Iurii Vsevolodich. He should be [their father] in place of me. And you, my princes, boiars and magnates—my lords, do not forget my children; and you, my children, preserve awe for God and respect His Commandments. Do not turn away from the holy churches; respect and love the bishops, priests and monks; and heed and revere the teachings of the Scripture. Obey and respect your senior and live with peace and love amongst you, having peace and love for all. Do not desire anything which is not yours and do not cross the border into another's domain, but be satisfied with what you have. And from these, your pure possessions, sacrifice to God and love the poor and satisfy the pauper, and do not disdain pilgrims;

87. This is a repetition of the item under 6725/(1217).

clothe the naked and help the pauper and do this for the glory of God." **1218**

Then he arose, prayed before the Lord's icon, embraced his son, Vasil'ko, and kissed him and gave him the principality of Rostov, and sent him to Rostov. Then he embraced his other son, Vsevolod, and blessed him with the principality of the city of Iaroslavl' and sent him to be prince in Iaroslavl'. And he said, "Go, my children! Preserve awe for God and keep His Commandments, and God will protect and save you."[88]

The same winter, on Friday, the second day of the month of February at the sixth hour of the day the pious and Christloving Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, passed away and he was buried in the Church of the Pure Theotokos of the Golden Cupolas where his own father, Vsevolod, was buried.

[ENCOMIUM]

This prince loved, above all, the reading of Divine Scripture, [which he followed] with attention and great diligence. This was the reason why awe for God, quietude, humility, meekness, love and mercy entered his mind; and he would not render evil for evil to anyone and he would forgive those who sinned toward him; and he offended no one but made everyone wiser with his talks concerning every-day and spiritual concerns. He always spoke and dealt according to Holy Scripture; and he cared for the divine churches and loved to build and endow them with everything. He greatly respected bishops, priests and monks, and with his own hand he would wash the poor and the lame, feed them and give them to drink; and he gave them alms, remembering blessed David, who said, "Blessed is he that considereth the poor and the paupers, and the Lord will deliver him in the day of evil, and the Lord will preserve him and keep him alive and he shall be blessed upon the earth, and He will not deliver him unto the will of his enemy." [Ps. 41:1-2 rephrashing] Also, the saying of his son, Solomon, who said, "Sins are cleansed through alms and faith;" and the saying of the Prophet Daniel: "Break off thy sins by

88. It is an expanded version of Instruction from *Laur.*, 6726 (1218).

1218 righteousness and they trespasses and thy inquities with generosity to the poor. [Dan. 4:27] because this is charity, and charity burns away sins just as fire burns hay." Altogether, Konstantin lived thirty six years. As soon as he passed away, yet in the presence of his casket, his princess took the veil and, as a nun, received the name, Agatha. His sons were Vasil'ko, Dmitrii—whose clan name was Vsevolod—and another Dmitrii, whose clan name was Vladimir. After him, his brother, Iurii Vsevolodich, ascended to the throne of the grand principality of Vladimir, and Bishop Simeon returned again to his bishopric of Vladimir. [Close to *Laur.*, 6726(1218)]

The same year [6726(1218)] Prince Rostislav Riurikovich, son-in-law of Grand Prince Vsevolod Chermnyi, passed away. The same year Prince Konstantin Davydovich, grandson of Rostislav, great grandson of Mstislav, gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, passed away.

The same year Prince Mstislav Mstislavich, marched to Torzhok, arrested Boleslav Nekoshich[89] and confiscated all his wealth, and released him. At that time, however, his son, Prince Vasil'ko, fell ill and he began to shed tears and to weep for his son. His son was gravely ill and passed away, and he took his body from Torzhok to Novgorod and buried him near the Cathedral of Holy Sophia in the Church of the Most Pure Theotokos next to the head of his grandfather. The same year Bishop Antonius laid the foundation of a stone church of the Holy Martyr Barbara in a monastery in Novgorod. The same year Archbishop Metrophanes came from Vladimir to Novgorod and the Novgorodians accompanied him to the Church of the Annunciation of the Holy Theotokos. The same year Prince Mstislav Mstislavich marched from Novgorod to Russia[90] and the Novgorodians sent to Smolensk for Prince Sviatoslav Mstislavich, grandson of Roman, great grandson of Rostislav, gr. gr. grandson of Mstislav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. gr. gr grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir.

89. Nekurishinich in *Novg. Syn.*

90. "Russia" indicates the region of Kiev.

The same year the Bulgars took the city of Ustiug through cunning and then marched to the city of Unzhesk; but the people of Unzhesk repulsed them. **1218**

The same year[91] the princes of Riazan', Gleb and Konstantin, the sons of Vladimir, grandsons of Gleb—who had previously calumniated their uncles, Prince Roman Glebovich and Prince Sviatoslav Glebovich, and their kin, and who had committed much bloodshed and murder, and devastated their land of Riazan', and who later put to death their brother, their cousins and their uncles, and escaped to the Polovetss—now returned to Riazan' with a great multitude of Polovetss and devastated the land, capturing people, burning and slaying. Their cousin, Prince Ingvar Igorevich [of Riazan'], joined by his kin, marched against them and defeated them, and there he slew a multitude of Polovetss. And so Princes Gleb and Konstantin, the sons of Vladimir, grandsons of Gleb, escaped back to the Polovetss, while Prince Ingvar returned to Riazan'.

The same year[92] Prince Mstislav Mstislavich, grandson of Roman, and Prince Vladimir Riurikovich, grandson of Rostislav, marched to Galich against the son of the king of Hungary; and he marched against them with the men of Galich, with the Hungarians, the Poles, Czechs and Moravians. And they clashed, and Mstislav defeated them, entered the city of Galich and captured the king's son, his wife and his son. Thereafter he made peace with the king of Hungary and released his son with his wife and his people and he, himself, became the ruler of Galich.

The same year[93] the Hungarians cast prince Mstislav Mstislavich, grandson of Roman, out of Galich and the king's son [Andrew] ascended to the throne after him.

The same year Prince Ingvar of Riazan' sent to Grand Prince Georgii [Iurii] of Vladimir and to his brother, Iaroslav, asking for help agains the Polovetss. The latter sent to his aid his hosts with the voevoda Iakun Timofeevich. Prince Ingvar of Riazan' marched with them against the Polovetss; but the latter, hearing of this, fled and those who did not succeed in so doing were slain. And so he returned home.

91. In 6727 (1219) in *Laur.*
92. In 6727 (1219) in *Laur.*
93. In 6727 (1219) in *Vozn.*

1219 The same year[94] Grand Prince Mstislav Romanovich of Kiev, grandson of Rostislav, great grandson of Mstislav, great gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir, sent to Novgorod for his senior son, Sviatoslav, and gave them his junior son, Vsevolod. The Novgorodians obeyed him and did according to his will.

The same year[95] Tverdislav and Fedor laid the foundation in Novgorod of a stone church of St. Michael and another church of the Three Youths.

The same year Anthony,[96] archbishop of Novgorod, left Torzhok; the Novgorodians brought Archbishop Metrophanes to the see and estate of the bishopric, and they sent to Anthony, saying, "Where do you prefer to be?" And Anthony returned to them in Novgorod, where he took up residence in the Monastery of the Holy Savior in Nereditsa. Then the Novgorodians told both archbishops, Metrophanes and Anthony, "Go to Kiev, to Metropolitan Matthew of Kiev and all Russia, and whomsoever he sends back will be our lord." And they sent with them the monk-priest Basian, and another priest by the name of Boris, and Iakun Matveev. The same year they appointed Simeon Borisovich to be posadnik in Novgorod, and they assigned Koz'ma Zhidiata as its tysiatskii.

In the year 6727/1219. The Church of the Nativity of the Most Pure Theotokos was consecrated by Bishop Simeon in the monastery in the presence of Prince Iurii Vsevolodich and his brother, Iaroslav Vsevolodich of Pereiaslavl'. At that time Metrophanes was abbot of the monastery.

ABOUT THE WAR AGAINST THE BULGARS

Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich sent his brother, Sviatoslav, against the godless Bulgars[97] of the Volga and Kama rivers, and, together with him, he sent his own regiments, appointing Ieremei Glebovich as voevoda. His brother, Iaroslav Vsevolodich, sent his

94. In 6727 (1219) in *Laur.* and *Novg. Syn.*

95. In 6727 (1219) in *Novg. III.*

96. 6727 (1219) in *Novg. Kom.*

97. The Bulgars, a Turkic-speaking people, embraced Islam in the ninth century.

voevoda with a host to his aid; his uncle's son, Prince Vasil'ko **1219**
Konstantinovich, also sent his voevoda with the levies of Rostov and Ustiug to his aid. Then Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich sent to the princes of Murom, ordering them to send their sons; and Davyd sent his son, Sviatoslav, while Iurii sent his son, Oleg, with their troops, also, to help him. All of them met at the junction of the rivers Volga and Oka in river boats and boats with high sides. From thence they went down the river Volga, and when they came to the landings opposite Oshel' they landed on the shore and Sviatoslav mustered his regiments: the regiment of Rostov was on the right hand, the regiment of Pereiaslavl' on the left, and he, himself, with the princes of Murom, took up a position in the center. He left another regiment at the boats while they, themselves went from the shore into the forest, which they crossed and entered the fields before the city. There they were met by the Bulgar horsemen, whose prince aligned their host in the field. Sviatoslav marched rapidly against them; remaining awhile on the spot, they started shooting from their bows at our men, then panicked, fled to the city and, entering the city, they closed the gates.

Prince Sviatoslav rapidly marched to the city. Their walls around the city-castle were strongly fortified, there being first a wall made of oak logs and then, reinforcing it, an earthen wall between two high fences. [The Bulgars] began to move along this wall, fighting from behind the wall made of oak logs. Prince Sviatoslav marched to the fortress and sent forward his men with fire and axes. Behind them were the bowmen and footmen with lances. They stormed the city and a fierce fight ensued between them. The Russians cut down the oak wall and hacked the fences to pieces, setting fire to them; and the Bulgars ran to the castle. Our men chased them thither, slaying them on their way. Thereupon [the Russians] besieged the castle from all sides and set fire to it.

There was extremely dense smoke, and when the wind began to blow from behind the castle toward Sviatoslav's troops, it became impossible to see people for the smoke; and the troops [the Russians], unable to withstand the smoke and heat, and still less the lack of water, retreated from the castle and sat down to rest from their heavy action. Then Sviatoslav told them, "Let us go

1219 approach the city from the side of the wind." So they arose and went to the other side of the city; coming thither, they took up a positon opposite the city gates. The prince told them, "Brethren and Druzhina! Today we have one choice: it will be either good or bad. Therefore, let us attack rapidly," and the prince, himself, ran toward the city wall before everyone. Seeing this, his warriors also hurried toward the city wall, and they hacked to pieces the oak wall and other fortifications, and set fire to the other part of the wall. All the Bulgars escaped into the castle; but then they [the Russians] set fire to all sides of the castle, and the castle caught fire on all sides, thus creating a strong wind like a storm. It was horrifying to behold, and there was a very loud clamor in the castle. The Bulgar prince escaped through the other gates and fled on horseback with a small guard; but all the footmen who fled were slain and their wives and children taken captive. The others burned in the castle, and some others killed their own wives and children and then killed themselves. A few of Sviatoslav's warriors dared to enter the castle, looking for bounty; but they were obliged to flee the fire, and several of them even burned there. Prince Sviatoslav remained there as long as the fortress burned. And so, on the fifteenth day of June, he captured the city of Oshel'.

From thence Sviatoslav marched back to his boats. When he approached them a strong rainstorm started up, so that they were unable to embark in the boats. Then, however, the storm abated and Sviatoslav with his troops crossed to the island, which was protected from the wind. With him were the princes of Murom; and there they passed the whole night. In the morning they ate their meal and then proceeded upward on the river Volga.

When the Bulgars in their Great City and the other cities learned that the city of Oshel' had been taken, they grieved greatly and assembled with their princes, some on horseback and some on foot, and marched to the shore. Sviatoslav noticed that the Bulgars had gathered their troops and were waiting for him at the landing, and he commanded all his warriors to don their armor and to display their banners, and he put his host into the boats. So the troops moved forward, one after another, drumming drums and blowing trumpets and flutes, and their prince advanced with them. The Bulgars marched along the shore and saw that the Russians had captured Bulgars, of whom some were

their fathers, some their sons and daughters, and some other kinfolk; and they shook their heads and their hearts were seized and their eyes grew swollen. Sviatoslav passed the river landing and camped at the mouth of the Kama. **1219**

There he was joined by Voislav Dobrynich, voevoda of Prince Vasil'ko Konstantinovich of Rostov, with the levies of Rostov and Ustiug, who had a large number of prisoners and very great bounty. They had already campaigned on the river Kama, where they had taken several towns and villages and burned many places, slain people and captured others. From thence Sviatoslav sent a message to his brother, Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich. Thereafter he went back as far as Gorodets, landed from the boats and marched to the city of Vladimir on horses.

When Iurii heard about his return he and his son, Vsevolod, met him at Bogoliubovo on the river Surama and embraced him with great love. They both went to the city, and because of Sviatoslav's arrival there was great rejoicing in the city of Vladimir. That day Grand Prince Iurii organized great festivities in honor of Sviatoslav and his warriors, and gave his brother many gifts: gold, silver, various clothes, horses, arms, silk, velour and linen; and he also generously presented his soldiers with gifts, to each according to his gallantry. And then Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich with great honor let his brother, Sviatoslav, return to his throne in the city of Iur'ev.

The same year[98] Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich, himself, began to prepare a campaign against the Bulgars, and the Bulgars sent him their envoys with entreaties and petitions; but he did not want to comply with their requests and let them return. He gathered the host and sent for his nephew, Prince Vasil'ko Konstantinovich of Rostov, whom he ordered to march to Gorodets, while Grand Prince Iurii with his own host marched to Amut. Arriving at Amut, the Bulgars sent him other envoys with petitions for peace, but he did not comply with their petition and dismissed them without peace. [At that time] Vasil'ko Konstantinovich also joined him at Gorodets. The Bulgars were very frightened and sent more envoys with many gifts and petitions; and only then did he comply with their requests and accept their gifts and settle peace with them as it used to be before under his

98. 6728 (1220) in *Vozn.*

1220 father, Vsevolod, and his grandfather, Georgii Vladimirovich [Iurii Dolgorukii]. He sent them his men, who accepted the oath of allegiance of their princes and their lands, according to their law, and he, himself, returned to Vladimir.

The same winter[99] the Lithuanians campaigned and raided the land of Chernigov, capturing many prisoners. Mstislav Vsevolodich chased them from Chernigov, caught up with them, slew many, took back the prisoners and then returned to Chernigov.

The same winter[100] Mstislav Romanovich marched from Kiev and Mstislav Mstislavich from Toropets, agaisnt Galich. With them were other princes and the Polovetss. When they came to Galich, the son of the Hungarian king prepared the city for siege. They fought half a day at the city, then scattered across the land campaigning, doing much evil, burning cities and towns, and taking many captives; and then they returned home.

The same year Princess Agatha, her nun's name—she was the widow of Konstantin—passed away, and she was buried on January twenty-fourth in the church of the cathedral of Holy Theotokos in Rostov.

In the year 6728/1220.[1] Metrophanes, Archbishop of Novgorod, was justified by God, by the Most Pure Theotokos and by his holiness Matthew, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia; he returned to Novgorod on the seventh day of the month of March. Metropolitan Matthew left Anthony, Archbishop of Novgorod, in Kiev, keeping him in honor, and later gave him the bishopric of Peremyshl'. Anthony came to Peremyshl' on the second day of the month of June.

The same year Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich came from Smolensk to Torzhok and then he came to Novgorod. And [at that time] evil Satan put into the hearts of some people of Novgorod hatred for Tverdislav, posadnik of Novgorod; and they calumniated him before Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich, grandson of Roman. At that time Tverdislav was ill. Prince Vsevolod rode in armor and in arms, as if going to war, from his residence in Gorodishche, with his entire court; and they rode to Iaroslav's

99. In 6728 (1220) in *Vozn.*
100. In 6728 (1220) in *Vozn.*
1. 6728 (1220) in *Novg. Syn.*

square. There the Novgorodians gathered around him with weapons and brought the ill posadnik, Tverdislav, in a sledge to the Church of Boris and Gleb. There the people of Novgorod, the Prussians,[2] the section of Ludin and people from other cities assembled to discuss him. They surrounded him, and a great multitude of them were in armor and with weapons, and they encircled him; and so they formed five regiments, and there was a great clamor and argument. Prince Vsevolod saw this and perceived that he must stand firm for his posadnik, Tverdislav; therefore he did not go thither, but sent for them with entreaties and meekness. And so Tverdislav and Prince Vsevolod made an agreement with an oath with the Novgorodians to deal according to their will. The same year Tverdislav gave up the office of posadnik because he was ill, and at night, secretly from his wife and children, he went to the Monastery of the Most Pure Theotokos in Arkazh and was tonsured there. The same year the office of posadnik was given to Ivanko Dmitriev. **1221**

In the year 6729/1221.[3] His holiness Matthew, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, passed away.

The same year[4] the Novgorodians cast out from Novgorod Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich, grandson of Roman, great grandson of Iziaslav, gr. gr. grandson of Mstislav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh.

The same year Prince Mstislav Mstislavich, grandson of Roman, gr. grandson of Rostislav, gr. gr. grandson of Mstislav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, fought against the Hungarians, slew a great multitude of them, captured the son of the Hungarian king and, himself, ascended to the throne of Galich.

The same year[5] the Novgorodians sent their lord, Archbishop Metrophanes, and their posadnik, Ivanko, and their senior men to Vladimir to Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich asking him for a son

2. Prussians (Prusi in *Nik.* and *Novg. Syng.*), probably Lithuanians, original inhabitants of Prussia. In the early thirteenth century Prussia was attacked and conquered by the German Teutonian order of Knights. Later in the eighteenth century the Kurfursts of Brandenburg took the title of "King of Prussia."

3. In 6728 (1220) in *Laur.*

4. In 6730 (1222) in *Laur. Acad.*

5. 6729 (1221) in *Laur.*

1222 to be prince in Novgorod, and he gave them his son, Vsevolod, to rule there according to the ancient liberty of the Novgorodians.

In the same year[6] the Novgorodian host under Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich marched with their prince to Kiesa, where they fought long but did not succeed in taking the city.

The same year nearly the entire city of Iaroslavl' burned, and seventy churches burned there; but through the mercy of God and the prayers of the blessed late Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich, the prince's estate escaped the fire.

The same year Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich laid the foundation for a fortress at the junction of the rivers Oka and Volga, and gave it the name, "Nizhnii Novgorod."

The same year[7] the Novgorodians wanted to cast out their Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, but Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich learned of this, hid himself from the Novgorodians and, with his entire court, fled from the city by night. The Novgorodians became very offended, and their senior men went to the city of Vladimir, to Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich, and told him, "As you do not want to have your son [Vsevolod] as prince in Novgorod, give us your brother, Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich!"

In the year 6730 [1222]. Grand prince Iurii Vsevolodich laid the foundation of a stone church of the Holy Theotokos in Suzdal' in the place of the earlier one. The old building was torn down because it had already begun to deteriorate in view of its old age, and its upper part had collapsed. It was built by his great grandfather, Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh, and by the blessed Bishop Ephraim.[8] The same year the Novgorodians received Iaroslav Vsevolodich of Pereiaslavl', brother of Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich, as their prince in Novgorod, to rule according to their ancient Novgorodian liberty.

In the year 6731 [1223]. It was very hot and many woods, forests and marshes burned, and the smoke was so dense that people could see nothing. The smoke above the ground was so dense that birds could not see to fly in the air, so would fall to the ground and die, and all kinds of wild beasts entered the cities and

6. 6730 (1222) in *Novg. Kom.*
7. In 6729 (1221) in *Novg. Kom.*
8. In the year 6731 (1223) in *Novg. Syn.*

towns [because of the forest fires], unnoted by the people. Every- **1224**
one was seized by fear and fright.

The same year[9] a star appeared in the west whose rays were not directed toward the eyes of man but toward the south. It would rise in the evening after sunset, surpassing all other stars in its majesty; and thus it remained seven days. On the seventh day those rays turned toward the east, and remained thus another four days. Then it became invisible.

The same year[10] Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich marched with the Novgorodians against Kolyvan'[11] and he campaigned throughout the entire land of the Chud'.[12] He did not take the city but he accepted much gold as ransom, then returned to Novgorod. The same year Archbishop Metrophanes of Novgorod passed away, and he was buried in a chapel of the Holy Sophia. The same day the Novgorodians took monk Arsenius [as acting archbishop] from the Monastery of Khutyn' to the court of the archbishop.

In the year 6732 [*1224*].[13] On the sixth day of the month of January, Cyril the Greek was consecrated Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia. He was very learned in the Divine Scripture and he cared for learning. The same year the church of the Savior in the monastery of the city of Iaroslavl', whose foundation was laid by the pious Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich, was consecrated by Bishop Cyril. It was completed by Konstantin's son, Prince Vsevolod.

In the year 6733 [*1225*]. Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich laid the foundation of a stone church of the Holy Savior in Nizhnii Novgorod. The same year[14] the Novgorodians drove from Novgorod their prince, Iaroslav Vsevolodich of Pereiaslavl', and he went to Pereiaslavl'; then they took for the second time Vsevolod, son of Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich, to be prince in Novgorod.

The same year the Novgorodians fought the Chud', but only

9. In 6730 (1222) in *Hyp.*
10. In 6730 (1222) in *Hyp.*
11. Kolyvan': now Revel' or Tallin.
12. In this case, "Chud' " means the present Estonians.
13. In 6733 (1225) in *Hyp.*
14. In 6731 (1223) in *Novg. Syn.*

a small troop returned because they were killed by the Chud'.

1225 The same year[15] Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich learned that the Novgorodians wanted to cast him out; but he and all his court hid, then settled in Torzhok. His father, Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich, came to his aid with all his forces: with him were his nephew, Prince Vasil'ko Konstantinovich, with the levies of Rostov; and Prince Mikhail of Chernigov, the son of Vsevolod Chermnyi. The Novgorodians sent two men to Iurii in Torzhok to tell him, "Prince Iurii Vsevolodich! Send us your son and you, yourself, depart from Torzhok and do not devastate the Novgorodians lands." But Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich answered them, "Turn over to me Iakim Ivankov, Nikifor Durov, Ivanko Timoshkinich, Gnezdilo Savin, Viatko, Ivach and Riadko. I have already watered my stallion in the river Tver', and if you don't turn them over, I will water him in the river Volkhov." The Novgorodians, however, said, "Prince! You have many overly-ambitious ideas." And the Novgorodians began to assemble, built a fortress near the city and sent to Grand Prince Iurii, saying, "Prince! You should abide in meekness and humility and not shed blood. We, Novgorodians, however, will not turn our brethren over to you; and if you want to attack us and shed blood, we are ready to fight for the Holy Theotokos and for each other and to sacrifice our lives for our brethren." Then the Novgorodians statoioned their scouts on all routes and constructed fortifications everywhere, and were prepared to die for the Holy Theotokos and for each other. So Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich sent them his man, Ivan Verkh, as well as Roman, the Tysiatskii of Prince Mikhail Vsevolodich, to tell them the following: "Accept as ruler in Novgorod my brother-in-law, Prince Mikhail, son of Vsevolod Chermnyi, grandson of Sviatoslav, great grandson of Oleg." And the Novgorodians sent for his brother-in-law, Prince Mikhail, son of Vsevolod Chermnyi; and so Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich with the other princes left Torzhok and went home.

The same year[16] a star appeared called "the Lance," which extended from east to west in the form of a lance; and thus it remained for seventeen days.

15. In 6732 (1224) in *Novg. Kom.*
16. In 6734 (1226) in *Novg. IV.*

THE BATTLE OF THE RIVER KALKA[17] 1225

The same year, under Grand Prince [of Kiev] Mstislav Romanovich, grandson of Rostislav Mstislavich, because of our sins unknown tribes appeared, godless Moabites called Tatars, about whom no one knew well who they were or from whence they came, or what their language be, of what race they be, or of what faith they be. Some called them "Tatars" and others called them "Taurmens"; and some, "Pechenegs." And some say they are those about whom Methodius, Bishop of Patar, witnessed—that they came from the desert of Yathrib, that they were located between the east and the north and were supposed to appear toward the end of our time, that they were driven away by Gideon and would conquer the entire land from the east to the Euphrates and the Tigris, and to the Pontic Sea, except for Ethiopia. We have heard of them that they subjugated many lands—the Alans, Abkhazians and the Cherkess, and that they entered the Polovetsian land. The Polovetss were unable to resist them and fled—some being massacred, some driven down the river Don to the bay of the sea, where they died, and others being driven to the river Dnieper.

The Polovetsian khan, Kotian[18] with other princes came to the place called "Polovetsian Wall," while Khan Daniilo Kobiakovich and Iurii Konchakovich were killed.[19] Kotian came to his brother-in-law, Prince Mstislav Mstislavich of Galich, bringing many gifts: horses, camels, buffalo and others, and he gave them to all the Russian princes, bowing to them and saying, "Today our land was taken by the Tatars and tomorrow they will take yours. This is what we announce to you. If you understand this, you must help us."[20]

17. The original story about the battle on the Kalka between the Russians and the Mongols (Tatars) was written in Kiev and was preserved in the earliest *Novgorodian* and in the *Hypatian* chronicles, under the year 1224; and in the *Laurentian ms.* under the year 1223. There are two versions of it in *Nik.* The most extensive one is in the *Laptev ms.*, whose text is used in this translation.

18. In *Nik.*, "Kotiak"; in *Laur.*, "Kotian."

19. In the late twelfth and early thirteenth century a number of Polovetsian rulers became Christian (Eastern Orthodox).

20. This was the first invasion of Russia by Mongols during the life of Chenghiz Khan, who died in 1227. Pursuing the Persian ruler, Jalal

1225 Mstislav Mstislavich of Galich sent to his kin, saying, "Let us help them. If we do not, they will join the others—the Tatars—and then it will only be more difficult for us."

The princes pondered how they might aid Kotian and fight the godless Moabites; and they decided to aid Kotian. All the princes assembled for council in the city of Kiev, and they came to the following decision: "It is better for us to meet them in the foreign [Polovetsian] land rather than in our own." And they sent to the city of Vladimir, to Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich of Vladimir, for assistance. He sent to their aid his nephew, Prince Vasil'ko Konstantinovich of Rostov. All the princes gathered a great host. They were: Grand Prince Mstislav Romanovich of Kiev, grandson of Rostislav; the princes of Chernigov; Prince Mstislav Mstislavich of Galich; and those were the senior princes of the Russian land. And together with them were the junior princes: Daniilo Romanovich, grandson of Mstislav; Prince Mikhail, son of Vsevolod Chermnyi of Chernigov; Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich, grandson of Roman Rostislavich; and many other princes. And at that time the Polovetsian prince, Basty, was baptized.

These numerous Russian princes, joined by all the Russian land, marched against the Tatars. When they came to the river Dnieper, to the Varangian island, to the place called "Zarub," the Tatars heard about them and sent them their envoy, who told them the following: "We are all men and we are all descendants of Adam. Why should we senselessly and vainly shed our blood, quarreling and fighting? We have not come against you and we have taken nothing of yours, but we have come against our slaves, the Polovetss, because from ancient times the Polovetss have tended our horses.[21] Why do you march against us to do battle and shed blood? If you want to choose the better part, then make

ad-Din, they passed through the Caucasus and attacked the Polovetss between the Volga and the Don rivers. "Tatars" were one of the Mongol tribes, but later the Russians came to mean by "Tatar" not only the Mongols, but also the Turkic peoples of present eastern Russia who, in the XIIIth—XVth centuries were part of the Mongol empire. Both Turkic and Mongol languages form the Altaic linguistic group and therefore have many common features.

21. These Tatar-Mongols considered that all nomadic Mongol and Turkic tribes were supposed to be the subjects of Chenghiz Khan.

peace with us and send away the Polovetss and do not receive them." The Russian princes paid them no heed, slew their envoys and marched against them. They went nearly as far as Ochelie, camped near the Dnieper and the Tatars sent thither to them other envoys, saying, "Why have you heeded the Polovetss and killed our envoys? And now you are marching against us in war and bloodshed. We have not harmed you in any way and God will judge between you and us, because God is Creator of all and feeds everyone." **1225**

But at that time there came to join the Russians all the Polovetsian land with their khans. Prince Mstislav Mstislavich of Galich with 20,000 warriors crossed the Dnieper, where the Tatar scouts were, and defeated them, while the rest of them escaped with their commander, Gwiemia Beg. They [the Tatars] hid him in the ground alive, wanting to protect him; but he was found and slain. When they learned of this, all the Russian princes crossed the river Dnieper with numberless armies: Grand Prince Mstislav Romanovich of Kiev, grandson of Rostislav, with the troops of Kiev; Grand Prince Vladimir Riurikovich of Smolensk, grandson of Rostislav; the princes of Chernigov, of Galich, of Volynia, of Kursk, of Trubchevsk and of Putivl'; and the princes from all the Russian lands with an endless multitude of warriors. There also came the Bauts, the Gaigals, the Vygaletss and the people of Galich, who advanced by boat on the Dnieper toward the sea.[22] There were more than 2,000 of them.

When they passed the cataracts on the way to the sea, they left the Dnieper and moved into the river Khortitsa near the ford of Protolcha. Their voevodas were Iurii Domamirich and Drezhikrai Vladislavich.[23] There they received the tidings that some Tatars had come to look at the Russian warriors. Prince Daniil Romanovich, grandson of Mstislav, and many other princes, and the young sons of Grand Princes mounted their horses and hurried to see the [enemy] hosts; and when they beheld them, they sent to Mstislav, saying, "Do not stop! Go forward against them" And they moved into the prairie and met them, and there the Russian archers pursued them far into the prairie, slay-

22. These three tribes are unknown and are not mentioned in earlier sources.

23. These names are corrected according to *Hyp.*

1225 ing and taking their cattle. Those who remained fled with the herd, and from thence they followed them for eight days, up to the river Kalka. There they met scouts, and Ivan Dmitrievich and two others who were with him were killed there. Then the Tatars returned.

Prince Mstislav Mstislavich ordered Prince Daniil Romanovich to cross the river Kalka with his troops, and then they marched behind them. When he came there he sent Iarun with the Polovetss as scouts, and camped there. Prince Mstislav Mstislavich of Galich followed the scouts and saw the Tatar troops, and he ordered his warriors to prepare for battle, while the two princes Mstislav were yet in their camp, unaware of this. They had not been told about this because of jealousy.

A battle ensued between them and the regiments clashed. Prince Daniilo Romanovich, grandson of Mstislav, Prince Simen Oliuevich, and Prince Vasil'ko Gavrilovich went forward; and here Prince Vasil'ko was struck by a lance, while Prince Daniil Romanovich, grandson of Mstislav, was hit by a lance in his chest, and he was bleeding. He galloped away, however, not feeling it because of his bravery. He was extremely courageous and strong in battle although he was only eighteen years old. With his regiment, he bravely slew the Tatars. Seeing Prince Daniilo Romanovich covered with blood because he was wounded, and was bleeding greatly, Prince Mstislav Iaroslavich Nemoi galloped toward them, crying and shouting in a loud voice. He was also very strong and was a relative of the latter's father, and he loved him very much—and he even promised him his principality. Prince Oleg of Kursk, and the Polovetsian Khan Iarun with his Polovetss, also fought fiercely with the Tatars. But then the Polovetss began to flee and trampled the camps of the Russian princes so that the princes had no time to muster their troops. The Tatars approached with large forces, overwhelmed and struck the Russian troops, and because of our sins there was an evil massacre; the dead lay everywhere and blood flowed as water, and there was such a victory over the Russian princes as had never before occurred since the beginning of the Russian land.

Grand Prince Mstislav Romanovich of Kiev, grandson of Rostislav, and Prince Andrei, his son-in-law, and Prince Aleksandr Dubrovskii saw this evil happen but did not retreat. They

remained at the river Kalka, where there was a place of rock. **1225**
They built a fortification with pales and they fought three days there. Against them were two Tatar commanders, Tsegyr Khan and Tieshiu Khan,[24] and other Tatar princes. The Tatars chased the Russian princes and pursued them, fighting, up to the Dnieper.

Together with the Tatars were the Brodniks, whose commander was a certain Ploskinia.[25] This accursed one gave his pledge on the cross to Grand Prince Mstislav Romanovich of Kiev and to those with him that they would not be killed but would be ransomed, and so they surrendered; but he, this accursed one, turned them over to the Tatars and they occupied the fortification and slew all the people. And they put the Russian princes under boards and sat upon the boards to banquet, and thus did the princes die.

The other princes were killed while being pursued toward the Dnieper. They were Prince Sviatoslav of Kanev, Prince Iziaslav Ingvarevich, Prince Sviatoslav of Shumsk, Prince Mstislav of Chernigov with his son, Prince Iurii of Nesvezh, as well as the tysiatskiis, voevodas and a great many boiars. Also killed were a great number of warriors, because barely could one in ten escape. In this battle were killed Aleksei Popovich; his squire, Torop; Dobrynia, the Golden Belt, of Riazan'; and seventy great and brave bogatyrs.[26] All were killed by the Tatars because of Divine Wrath at our sins.

Grand Prince Mstislav Mstislavich of Galich was the first to cross the Dnieper; Vladimir Riurikovich, grandson of Rostislav, grand prince of Smolensk, came to Kiev and became grand prince there because the grand prince of Kiev, Mstislav Romanovich, was killed by the Tatars, with his children and his son-in-law. Such great misfortune occurred in the Russian land on the sixteenth day of the month of June. It was a misfortune for the Russian grand prince of Kiev, and other princes, and all the Russian lands. The Tatars pursued the Christians as far as Novgorod Severskii. Unaware of the Tatars' cunning, the Christians came out to meet

24. Names corrected according to *Novg. Kom.*

25. Brodniks: Russian outlaws and freebooters who lived in the prairie near the Don river. In *Nik.*, erroneously, "*Bronniks.*"

26. This is obviously a folkloristic interpolation from *bylina* sources.

1225 them with crosses, but those slaughtered them evilly, burned their homes and set fire to their estates. Then they campaigned in other cities and occupied all lands and villages, and burned them; and no one could resist them because the entire land was empty. The Tatars could raid there without fear. It is said that in Kiev, alone, 60,000 people were killed. It is impossible to say how many were killed in others because only God knows their numberless number.

Prince Vasil'ko Konstantinovich of Rostov, nephew of Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich of Vladimir, was protected by God with his army because he did not happen to come to the battle. He had just arrived at Chernigov, when he learned of the misfortune and returned rapidly to Rostov, protected by God and the Most Pure Theotokos. No one knows whence came the Tatars or whither they went. This was the first appearance of Tatars in Russia. They were very quick in battle as well as in their movements. Their army was very light, unhampered by any heavy supplies; they could run and then return, and were as criminal as devils.

EVENTS IN NOVGOROD

The same year Prince Mikhail of Chernigov, son of Vsevolod Chermnyi, grandson of Sviatoslav, great grandson of Oleg, went to Novgorod. Everything was fine in the cities, lands and towns of Novgorod, and all Novgorodians rejoiced greatly at this, and they loved Prince Mikhail Vsevolodich. The same year Prince Mikhail of Chernigov [and of Novgorod], son of Vsevolod Chermnyi, went to Vladimir to his brother-in-law, Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich; [and returning to Novgorod] he took with his those Novgorodian merchants whose goods had been confiscated by his brother-in-law, Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich when he was in Torzhok. He received from him all the confiscated goods and returned to Novgorod with all this wealth. Arriving there, he settled in Iaroslav's court and gave to those whose goods had been confiscated everything which he had received from his brother-in-law, Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich. Then he told them, "Men and brethren! Do not be wroth with me because I do not want to be prince in Novgorod, for I have decided to return to Chernigov; but you may send me your merchants, who may approach me unhindered, as well as may mine go to you. And for me my

land is the same as is yours to you." The Novgorodians wept **1226**
because they loved him very much. They tried to persuade him
but were unable to convince him to stay, and so they let him go
with great honor back to Chernigov, after giving him many gifts.

ABOUT THE DEFEAT OF THE LITHUANIANS BY IAROSLAV

The same winter the Lithuanians campaigned around Novgorod, Toropets, Smolensk and the Polotsk. Their host was large: there were 7,000 of them, and they killed merchants. When Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich heard about this he greatly pitied the Christians,[27] and he marched against the Lithuanians from Pereiaslavl' [Zaleskii]. He was joined by men from Novyi Torzhok and Toropets, as well as by a few men from Novgorod, and he caught up with the Lithuanians at Osvet. When the Lithuanians noticed him, they prepared themselves for battle on the lake. Prince Iaroslav marched against them, clashed with them and the accursed ones fled. Prince Iaroslav pursued them, took back all the [Russian] captives, slew Lithuanians, captured 2,000 and took their prince prisoner. And there was great joy in those lands because he liberated them from the pagans. Those Lithuanians killed Prince Davyd of Toropets, as well as Vasil'ko, Iaroslav's sword bearer. From this campaign Iaroslav went to Novgorod and ascended the throne because earlier the Novgorodians had come to him asking him to rule there. This victory over the Lithuanians occurred during Shrove Week.

In the year 6734 [1226]. Blessed Simeon, Bishop of Suzdal' and Vladimir, passed away after having taken the *schema*. He was buried in Vladimir in the Church of the Most Pure Theotokos with Golden Cupolas.

[INTERVENTION BY METROPOLITAN CYRIL]

The same year Prince Iurii Vsevolodich with his nephews, Vasil'ko and Vsevolod, son of Konstantin, marched to the aid of his brother-in-law, Prince Mikhail, son of Vsevolod Chermnyi of Chernigov, to help him against Prince Oleg of Kursk. At that time, thanks to Divine attention, Cyril, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, happened to be there, and he did not allow blood to be

27. That is, the Russians, for the Lithuanians were still pagan at that time.

1227 shed but brought about peace and concord. Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich loved him very much, prayed and convinced him to accompany him to Vladimir and to give him his blessing there. The latter accompanied him to the city of Vladimir, gave him his blessing[28] and there, with four other bishops, he elevated Metrophanes, Abbot of the Monastery of the Nativity of Christ, to bishop of Suzdal', Vladimir and Pereiaslavl'. He [the metropolitan] was greatly honored and departed from Vladimir. Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich, together with his children and his kin, bade him farewell with great honor and then he [the metropolitan] visited many other cities and went to Kiev.

The same year Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich sent his brothers, Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich and Prince Ivan Vsevolodich, against the Mordva. They occupied many towns and returned home.

The same year[29] Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich campaigned with the Novgorodians from Novgorod against the Em' beyond the sea[30] and he raided this land and took so many captives that he could not take them with him because of their multitude; and so he slew some and let the others go.

The same year the stone church of St. Jacob was built in the Nareva section of Novgorod.

In the year 6735 [*1227*]. There appeared in Novgorod magicians, wizards and sorcerers, who committed much magic, witchcraft and sorcery and made false portents, and committed much evil and seduced many people. The Novgorodians assembled, caught them and took them to the court of the archbishop, where Prince Iaroslav's men took them over. Then the Novgorodians bore these magicians to Iaroslav's court, where they built a large bonfire, bound all the magicians, threw them into the fire and all of them burned.

The same year the city of Vladimir burned and twenty seven churches burned, as well as the court of blessed Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich and the Church of Archangel Michael in this court,

28. In 6735 (1227) in *Laur.*

29. In 6735 (1227) in *Laur.*

30. Em': a Finnic tribe in south central Finland. Together with the Sum' (Suomi), they formed the Finnish nation. "Beyond the sea" probably means beyond the Gulf of Finland.

which he had built and decorated wondrously and splendidly. **1228**

The same year Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich sent his nephew, Prince Vsevolod Konstantinovich, grandson of Vsevolod, gr. grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, to the throne of Pereiaslavl' Russkii.

The same year Prince Vladimir Vsevolodich, named Dmitrii in holy baptism, brother of Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich, passed away. Before [his death] he was tonsured a monk and then to the schema, and he was buried in the Church of the Most Pure Theotokos with Golden Cupolas in the city of Vladimir.

The same year Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich married his nephew, Prince Vasil'ko Konstantinovich of Rostov, to the daughter of his brother-in-law, Prince Mikhail Vsevolodich of Chernigov.

The same year[31] Prince Vsevolod Konstantinovich, nephew of Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich, married the daughter of Oleg Sviatoslavich.

In the year 6736 [1228].[32] Grand Prince Mstislav Mstislavich of Galich travelled from Galich to Kiev. On his way he fell ill, was tonsured a monk and to the schema, and passed away.[33] The same year Prince Davyd of Murom was tonsured a monk and to the schema, and passed away. The same year a daughter, Feodora, was born to Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich. The same year Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, having taken counsel, permitted his princess to go to Murom to her brothers, where she was tonsured a nun.

ABOUT THE WAR AGAINST THE MORDVA

The same winter, on January fourteenth, Grand Prince Iurii, as well as Iaroslav, Vasil'ko Konstantinovich, Vsevolod Konstantinovich and Iurii Davydovich of Murom, campaigned against the

31. In 6736 (1228) in *Vozn.*

32. In 6735 (1227) in *Hyp.*

33. This Mstislav Mstislavich of Toropets, who had been prince of Novgorod, then of Kiev and, finally, of Galich, came to Galich with the help of the Polovetss. When he ruled there he tried to defeat the boiars' oligarchy, then he became reconciled with them. He married his daughter to Andrew, son of the Hungarian king, in order to obtain Hungary's support. Finally, he relinquished Galich and settled in the frontier town of Torchesk. *Hyp.* 6734 (1226) and 6735 (1227).

1228 Mordva. They entered the Purgas' part of the Mordva land, burned the grain, trampled the fields, slew the cattle, burned the villages, and mercilessly put to the sword those living in the Purgas' land; the others they captured and sent home.[34] When the Mordva learned of this they fled into their dense forest, and those who did not escape were slain.

The same year Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich sent his brother Sviatoslav, to be prince of Pereiaslavl' Russkii. The same year[35] Archbishop Anthony [of Novgorod] departed his See and of his own volition went to the monastery of Khutyn'.

[NOVGOROD AND PRINCE IAROSLAV VSEVOLODICH]

The same year the Em'[36] came in boats against the Novgorodian lands; however, the Novgorodian posadnik in Ladoga hurried against them with the people of Ladoga, and he did this before the prince and the Novgorodians arrived, and he slew them. About 2,000 of them came, and only a few escaped back to their land.

The same year Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich marched against Pskov but the people of Pskov did not let him enter their city. He returned to Novgorod and when he arrived he told the bishop, the archbishop and the Novgorodians, "I went to Pskov in peace and friendship, wanting to give gifts to the people of Pskov, but they dishonored me and now I am grieved and greatly offended by them." The same year Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich secretly sent to Pereiaslavl' to gather troops because he wanted to fight Pskov; and he told the Novgorodians, "I want to campaign against Riga[37] and I am sending to Pereiaslavl' for my troops; and so should you, also, be ready." The same year the troops from Pereiaslavl' and from other cities came to Iaroslav in Novgorod. Prince Iaroslav

34. Purgas: Apparently, a tribal leader or ruler of a region of Mordva. Both *Laur.* and *Nik.* write, "Purgas' region." It may be, however, "Burtas'" region. Burtas was a Turkic tribe that lived on the eastern edge of the Mordva, close to the Volga. Mordva: a Finnic tribe living east of Riazan' between the Tsna and Sava rivers, still partially preserving their native tongue.

35. In 6736 (1228) in *Novg. Syn.*

36. See footnote under the year 1236, above. The Em', a Finnic tribe forming part of present-day Finns, lived in the lake districts of Finland.

37. Riga was the capital of the German Livonian Order.

Vsevolodich prodded the Novgorodians, telling them, "Let us campaign against Riga!" The Novgorodians, however, were afraid that he, under the pretext of marching against Riga, would campaign against Pskov; therefore they did not hurry to do as they were ordered by Iaroslav. When the people of Pskov heard that Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich wanted to do battle against Riga and to fight them, also, they took fright, joined the people of Riga, and left in Riga ninety better men as hostages, while the people of Riga gave ninety better men as hostages to Pskov; and so they decided to be unanimous—to be for each other and to fight to the death. **1228**

When Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich heard that the people of Pskov and the people of Riga had made an agreement, he sent to them, saying, "I want to go with the host of Novgorod against Riga. Come with us." But the people of Pskov responded, "Our lord, Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich! You are very intelligent and wise, and you know that we are all the descendants of Adam and are all brethren, relatives, uncles and aunts: we are all the same people, both the faithful and the infidels.[38] Fighting the infidels without reason is not fitting. We should live at peace with everyone and not interfere in their faithlessness or lawlessness; but we should be at peace with them. When these infidels see that we live in unanimity and love, they will come to reason and they will convert and become baptised, and then they will all be saved by Christ's blessing and the blessing of His Most Pure Mother. And now you, Prince, who are so intelligent—you have ordered us to start a war with the people of Riga without cause!" Hearing this, Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich became offended and told the Novgorodians, "Do you see how these people of Pskov offend me? They do not want to march with us against the people of Riga and they have even made an agreement with them." The Novgorodians, however, replied to Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, saying, "Lord Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich! We are the servants of the Most Pure Theotokos and we are all prepared to sacrifice our lives for each other. We greet you, princes! We are at peace with our brethren of Pskov; and since the people of Pskov are unwilling to march with you against Riga, so do we, too, oh, Prince, not desire

38. Part of the Livonian population—the Chud', now Estonians—were still pagan.

1228 to march. Prince! Let the warriors go home, and make peace with the people of Pskov."

In Pskov there were men of Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich who had been robbed by the people of Pskov and been chased away in dishonor. Coming to him, they told everything to Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, who felt offended at this and told the Novgorodians, "What is this?" And they answered, "You should know, Prince, that the people of Novgorod and Pskov do as they please."

Then Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich went with his princes to Pereiaslavl', leaving in Novgorod two of his sons—Fedor and Aleksandr, with his boiar, Fedor Danilovich, and his other men; and he did this in agreement with the Novgorodians' liberties.

This year there was uninterrupted rain night and day, beginning from the day of the Transfiguration up to St. Nicholas' day. The Novgorodians began to murmur against their acting archbishop, Arsenius, claiming that it rained so long because of him, for he had chased Archbishop Anthony to Khutyn' and had given much money to Prince Iaroslav. And so they [deposed him] and dispatched him to Khutyn', bringing Anthony from Khutyn' to the archbishop's estate. There was a great disturbance in the city and some were sacked, while some even tasted death.

The same fall there were great floods and the lakes and rivers caused grave inundations, resulting in much harm to the people. Then the freezes began and the high water froze in Lake Il'men. Then strong, powerful winds arose, the ice broke up and the water rose, carrying the ice in the Volkhov higher than usual, so that nine piers of the large bridge were broken.

The same year the people of Novgorod sent for Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich in Pereiaslavl', telling him the following: "Our lord Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich! Return to us in Novgorod. Do not be cruel or wrathful with us. Do not send your own clerks to our lands. Be prince in Novgorod in accord with our Novgoridan liberties, and dwell with us as it is written in the ancient charter of Iaroslav made in Novgorod. You are our prince and we are your people; but if you do not so wish, then remain where you are and we will abide here."

The same year the young princes, Fedor and Aleksandr, sons of Iaroslav Vsevolodich, escaped from Novgorod to Pereiaslavl' to their father, with their boiar, Fedor, and with other men.

The same year, according to the ancient tradition, the Nov- **1229**
gorodians summoned the veche and said, "These princes have fled from us and only they know why they so did." And they sent for Prince Mikhail Vsevolodich of Chernigov. While their envoys were journeying and came to Smolensk, the prince of Smolensk, at the suggestion of Iurii Vsevolodich, did not allow them to proceed farther and closed all the routes. Grand Prince Mikhail Vsevolodich of Chernigov heard of this while he was campaigning against his son, and he rapidly marched toward Novgorod to Torzhok, for which everyone was joyful. From thence he came to Novgorod and all the Novgorodians rejoiced greatly and made agreement with him [to be prince there] according to the old Novgorodian liberties and according to all the ancient charters of Iaroslav. He permitted all the poor people and those in debt not to pay taxes for five years; and those whose lands were mortgaged were to pay taxes according to the rule of the previous princes, even without any fine, for half a year.

In the year 6737 [1229]. The Mordva, under Purgas, campaigned against [Nizhnii] Novgorod but the people of [Nizhnii] Novgorod defeated them. Then they [the Mordva] however, set fire to the Monastery of the Most Pure Theotokos and ran back home.[39]

ABOUT BISHOP CYRIL

Cyril, Bishop of Rostov, gave up his bishopric and went to Suzdal', to his cell there in the Monastery of St. Demetrius. He wanted to cure his illness there. He had an internal illness and his face changed, becoming black, and his lips and his nose were damaged. Besides that, another trouble descended upon him. One day all his wealth was lost because of a law suit initiated by [Prince] Iaroslav. It was said that Cyril was very wealthy in furs, lands, wares and books—or, to say simply, he was richer than any of the previous bishops of the Rostov land. He, however, rendered praise to God for all and was tonsured to the schema,

39. In *Laur.*, 1228, and in *Nik. Golitsyn* we read then,"Puresh's son, together with the Polovetss, defeated Purgas and massacred all the Mordva and all those Russians who were with Purgas, so that Purgas escaped with difficulties." See, also, the footnote under 6736 (1228). Puresh's son was a commander under Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich.

1229 and he distributed all his remaining wealth among the poor and unfortunate.[40]

ABOUT ABRAHAM THE MARTYR.

The same year the Bulgars in their Great City killed a certain peasant because he was Orthodox. This latter one was not of the Russian tongue but was Christian and had a large fortune: he was a great merchant in those lands, travelling by boat on the river Volga to the Great City of the Bulgars. When the Bulgars saw that he was rich and had not come from the Russian cities, they caught him and attempted for many days to force him to renounce Christ. Thereafter they tried to persuade him by cunning, but this martyr in Christ, Abraham, did not heed their vain counsel, did not surrender to their wiles, but continued unremittantly to confess Christ, the True God, and he cursed Mohammed and their Bulgar [Moslem] faith. They placed an interdiction upon him and tried to frighten him with torture, but he refused to submit to them, preferring to give up everything, rather to die for the sake of Christ. So he was beheaded on the first day of the month of April. The Christians took his body and buried him in a tomb where other Christians in the Bulgar land were buried. God, however, took revenge against these godless ones and their Great City caught fire, and half of it burned. The remaining part for many days would start burning twice or thrice a day, and little remained of the city: everything burned, and an endless quantity of goods burned there. All this happened to these godless ones because they spilled the blood of Abraham, the Christian martyr.[41]

ABOUT THE DISCORD AMONG THE BRETHREN,
[IURII AND IAROSLAV OF SUZDALIA]
AND ABOUT PEACE

Iaroslav Vsevolodich listened to some cunning and became estranged from his and his brother Iurii's three nephews, Vasil'ko, Vsevolod and Vladimir, the sons of Konstantin. They wanted to resist Iurii, his brother, but God did not allow this evil to happen. When Prince Iurii heard about this he summoned [the three of]

40. In 6736 (1228) in *Laur.*

41. In the year 6736 (1228) in *Laur.*

them to a council and straightened out the disagreement with them, and they bowed to Iurii and pledged on the cross to him to abide in concord with him and to regard him as their father. And so they celebrated the holiday of the Nativity of the Holy Theotokos together with Bishop Metrophanes in the city of Suzdal'. **1230**

The same year the Bulgars, [subsequently] called "the people of Kazan'," sent their envoys to Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich asking for peace, and there was an armistice with them for six years; but there were captives on both sides, and since they agreed on peace, which they confirmed according to the faith of them both [Bulgars and Russians], the two sides also agreed to release the captives. The Grand Prince released back to them the Ishmaelites [Moslems] while they let the Christians go home to the Grand Prince.[42]

The same year[43] Bishop Cyril passed away in the Monastery of St. Demetrius in Suzdal' and he was buried there.

The same year a famine started throughout the entire [Russian] land which lasted three years. People would pay two *kunas* for grain; and for a barrel of rye, four Novgorodian *grivnas*; and for wheat, five Novgorodian *grivnas*; and for millet, seven Novgorodian *grivnas*. A multitude of people perished.

In the year 6738 [1230]. On March sixth the body of the new Christian martyr, Abraham, was brought from the Bulgar land to the glorious city of Vladimir and his relics were buried with great honor in the Church of the Holy Theotokos in the monastery built by the princess of late Prince Vsevolod.[44]

The same year Konstantin's sons, the princes of Rostov, obtained permission from their uncle, Great Prince Iurii Vsevolodich, to elevate Cyril, Abbot of the Monastery of the Nativity of Christ, to the bishopric of their city of Rostov. And they sent him with their boiar, Dmitrii Ivanovich, to Kiev to Cyril, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, to be consecrated there bishop of Rostov.

The same year Grand Prince Iurii married his son, Vsevolod, to the daughter of Vladimir Riurikovich, and the wedding took

42. In 6736 (1228) in *Laur.*
43. In 6738 (1230) in *Laur.*
44. As in *Laur.*

1230 place on the fourteenth day of April in the Church of the Holy Theotokos in the city of Vladimir.

The same year[45] Prince Mikhail, son of Vsevolod Chermnyi, grandson of Sviatoslav, great grandson of Oleg ["Gorislavich"] went from Novgorod to his kin in Chernigov, and he left in Novgorod his son, Rostislav. He told the Novgorodians the following: "God willing, justice will prevail in Novgorod and then I will take my son from you." And then he told them, "It is not fitting that you should live without a bishop. Select some monk, whomsoever you wish, and then see who is pleasing to God and whom God wills to have." They selected three monks and cast lots, and the lot fell to Spiridon; and they sent him with the posadnik and with other important men to Kiev to Cyril, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, to be consecrated there archbishop of Novgorod.

The same year Prince Mikhail Vsevolodich sent to Pereiaslavl' [Zalesskii] to Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, saying, "Give up Volok, which is a Novgorodian land, and confirm by an oath on the cross peace and concord with them." And the other replied, "I will not give an oath on the cross, and I will not give up anything. You stay where you are and I will abide where I am." And he kept the envoys under arrest all summer.

The same year the Lithuanians campaigned in the following Novgorodian lands: Liubna, Moreva, Sereger. The Novgorodians marched against them and took back captives.

The same year[46] the Novgorodians appointed Nezd Vodovik as posadnik.

ABOUT THE EARTHQUAKE AND PORTENTS

The third of the month of May, during the Holy Liturgy when the Holy Gospel was being read in the Church of the Holy Theotokos in the city of Vladimir, the earth trembled and the churches and altars moved, and the icons on the walls shook, as did the chandeliers with the candles and the lamps. And the people marvelled and believed that they had vertigo, and told each other how they felt and wondered what had happened. And this occurred in many churches and many houses and in many

45. In 6737 (1229) in *Novg. Syn.*
46. In 6737 (1229) in *Novg. Syn.*

other cities. In the city of Kiev there was a great earthquake: in **1230**
the Monastery of the Cave the Church of the Holy Theotokos broke into four parts in the presence of Metropolitan Cyril, Prince Vladimir, boiars, and a great many people who had come thither because it was the holiday of Holy Father Theodosius. The stone refectory also shook after food and drink were carried thither; and stones began to fall from above. The refectory, however, did not collapse, nor did its roof. In Pereiaslavl' Russkii the church broke in twin, and three arches and the roof fell, destroying the icons, the chandeliers with candles, and the lamps. This happened during the liturgy the very same day, and the very same hour everywhere throughout the whole land. The tenth of the same month some people saw very early that the sun rose with a triangular shape, then grew as small as a star, and then completely disappeared; and then it rose according to its normal shape. The fourteenth of the same month at the third hour of the day the sun began to disappear before the eyes of the people looking at it, and very little remained of it. It was as small as a new moon on the third day, and then it began again to grow. Many people thought that it was the moon which moved across the key because it was the period between the moons. Some others thought that the sun was moving backwards because small clouds moved very fast from the northern side, passing over the sun toward the south.

The same year at the same hour it was still more terrifying for all those looking upon it in Kiev: the sun became as a crescent, and on both sides of it there appeared red, green and blue pillars; then fire came from the sky, and over the river Lybed' it looked like a large cloud. People thought it was the end of their lives and they began to embrace each other, begging forgiveness, and they wept bitterly and prayed loudly to God, with tears; but the Most Merciful God moved this horrifying fire above the city with no damage, and the fire fell into the river Dnieper, where it disappeared. This was told to us by witnesses who were there at that time.

The same year, thanks to the initiative of Bishop Metrophanes, they began to paint frescoes in the church of the Holy Theotokos in Suzdal'. This church was built by pious Prince Georgii [Iurii] in the place of the earlier one. They tore down the old edifice and built a more beautiful one.

1230 The same year Prince Sviatoslav tore down the church of St. George [Iurii] in the city of Iur'ev: it had become very dilapidated and had begun to fall apart. It had been built by his grandfather, Iurii Volodimirich; and so Sviatoslav began to build a new one, more beautiful than the previous.

The same year Cyril, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, came to Grand Prince Iurii, to his brothers, Iaroslav and Sviatoslav, and their nephews, the sons of Prince Konstantin, with a message from Grand Prince Vladimir Ruirikovich of Kiev, while Bishop Porphyrius of Chernigov came with a message from his prince, Mikhail. With them was the abbot of the Savior from Berestovo, and Petr Akerovich, *stol'nik* of Prince Vladimir of Kiev.[47] These three accompanied the metropolitan, intervening on behalf of peace between Mikhail and Iaroslav because Mikhail had not acted justly after his oath on the cross to Iaroslav, and Iaroslav wanted to fight him. The Metropolitan and the bishop spoke at length with Iaroslav about peace, as is written concerning it in Divine Scripture, and told him that according to the Gospel, he should not reciprocate [Mikhail's] evildoing; and likewise did the bishop. Then his brother, Georgii [Iurii] and the other brothers, told him—Iaroslav—that he should not disregard the metropolitan's mission and should make peace with Mikhail. He heeded the advice of his senior brother, of his spiritual father, the metropolitan, of his kin and of Bishop Porphyrius, and he made peace with Mikhail. Both princes, Iurii and Iaroslav, greatly honored the metropolitan, the bishop, and the abbot of the Saviour, received blessings from them and let them return to their princes in their own lands.

The same year there was a great famine, and in the city of Smolensk they built four ossuaries: into two, they put 16,000 bodies; in the third, 7,000; and in the fourth, 9,000; and thus it continued for two years.

In November that same year Stefan Tverdislavich and Ivan Timofeevich quarrelled with posadnik Vodovik, and the servants of Vodovik beat Ivan Timofeevich; the next day there was a veche concerning posadnik Vodovik and his house was pillaged. Posadnik Vodovik was indignant, summoned all Novgorod against Ivan

47. *Stol'nik*: originally a nobleman serving at the prince's table; later, a high rank next to boiar, and member of the Boiar Duma.

Timofeevich, Iakim Lukianovich and Prokopii Iakovlich, and they condemned their houses to be sacked, killed Ivan Timofeevich, threw his body into the Volkhov River and put many others to death. **1230**

BAD HARVEST AND FAMINE

And God's wrath arose, and the land was devastated: there was rain day and night, from Ascension Day to St. Elias' Day; and the cold came, and there were great freezes which destroyed all the rye, and the people had to buy grain for eight *kuna*; and for a *chetvert'* of rye they paid twenty Novgorodian grivnas. In some devastated rural places a *chetvert'* of rye was thirty grivnas; wheat, fourty Novgorodian grivnas; millet, fifty Novgorodian grivnas; and a *chetvert'* of oats, twelve grivnas. And there was a famine, and people died from the great starvation so that it was even impossible to bury them. The young Prince Rostislav Mikhailovich, grandson of Vsevolod, left with the Novgorodian posadnik against Torzhok, and the people of Novgorod pillaged the house of Semen Borisovich, caught his wife and put him to death. And they also sacked posadnik Vodovik and his brother, Mikhail, and his brother-in-law, Danislav; and they sacked the house of the tysiatskii, Boris, and divided their possessions among them, and put them to death. Those [men] had acquired possessions through hard labor but these appropriate their goods without any labor. It is said in Scripture, "Some work and others use their labor, and man acquires without knowing from whom he acquires." And they showed Prince Rostislav Mikhailovich how to go from Torzhok to his father, Mikhail of Chernigov, saying, "Your father, Mikhail Vsevolodich, told us that he has but to mount his horse and go with the host [against our enemies] for the offenses inflicted upon Novgorod. He said this on the day of the Elevation of the Cross. Now it is St. Nicholas' day and your father is not yet here, so you depart from us and we will get ourselves another prince." He went to Chernigov to his father and the Novgorodians sent to Pereiaslavl' for Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, saying, "If you want to be prince with us and according to our Novgorodian liberties, then come to us."

[THE FAMINE SPREADS]

Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich hurried to Novgorod and the

1231 Novgorodians met him with honor, summoned the veche and confirmed [their agreement with him] by an oath on the cross, according to all the charters of [the ancient prince] Iaroslav and according to the Novgorodian liberties. He remained for two weeks in Novgorod and then returned to Pereiaslavl', leaving two of his sons, Fedor and Aleksandr. The starvation spread not only to the land of Novgorod but to all the Russian land, with the exception only of Kiev. The wrath of God was such that the people not only ate the dead but even the living would kill and eat each other; and they ate horse flesh, dogs, cats and other animals. Whatever one could find, he would eat—moss, pine, elm, linden bark and leaves. Evil people, learning that someone had grain, would force their way into that place, pillage and kill; and divine wrath spread. People died all over the whole land, and there was no numbering them; and thus it continued for two years—6737 and 6738.

The same year Grand Prince of Smolensk, Mstislav Davydovich, passed away and was buried with honor in the city of Smolensk.

The same year the relics of holy Bishop Leontius were transferred from the Church of St. John into the Cathedral church of the Most Holy Theotokos.

[END OF THE FAMINE]

In the year 6739 [1231]. The Most Merciful Lord God sent His mercy and beginning with this year there was an abundant harvest of all grain and of all fruits. Foreigners from beyond the sea, hearing that there was great famine in the Russian land and in Novgorod, came with innumerable ships, with all manner of grain and flour to Novgorod and to all the Russian land, and they did much good, If Lord God had not sent with them grain, bread and flour, all the Russian land, it is horrible to say, would have perished from starvation.

The same year the archimandrite of the Monastery of the Nativity of Christ was consecrated bishop of Rostov by Cyril, Metropolitan of Kiev.

The same year a son, Boris, was born to Prince Vasil'ko Konstantinovich of Rostov.

[NOVGOROD AGAINST CHERNIGOV] **1232**

The same year Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich marched with the Novgorodian hosts against Chernigov, against Grand Prince Mikhail, son of Vsevolod Chermnyi, grandson of Sviatoslav, great grandson of Oleg. He burned Serensk[48] camped before Mozhaisk, and then returned, having devastated all grain and fruit, and having burned all lands and towns. At that time in Mozhaisk his boiar, Ivan Bosha, and *podvoiskii* Aldan' were killed[49] and many others were killed, and he retreated without making peace. And the wrath of God was such that fire even moved over the water and burned beyond the Volkhov, and the people who could see it marvelled; and many people were burned and trampled.

The same year the son of Vodovik[50] died a monk.

In the year 6740 [*1232*]. Prince Vladimir Konstantinovich, grandson of Vsevolod, married.

The same year the Tatars came and wintered before reaching the Great City of the Bulgars, which is now called Kazan'.

The same year Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich sent his son, Vsevolod, against the Mordva; with him were Prince Fedor Iaroslavich and the princes of Riazan' and Murom. They campaigned against the Mordva and burned their lands and towns.

The same year Archbishop Anthony of Novgorod passed away. Before being cast out, he was in the bishop's see for eight years; then he spent six years in exile in prison, and then again came from Peremyshl and was bishop in Novgorod for two years. He became seriously ill and lost his voice, and for six years, seven months and nine days he did not speak; and he passed away and was buried in a chapel of the Cathedral of Holy Sophia.

In the year 6741 [*1233*]. The Church of the Most Pure Theotokos in Suzdal' was adorned with frescoes and the floor was covered with divers beautiful marble.

The same year Prince Fedor Iaroslavich, grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great

48. In *Laur.*; Shernesk, in *Nik.*

49. *Podvoiskii*: police or court officers, mostly in western or northwestern Russia.

50. Vodovik: late posadnik of Novgorod.

1234 Vladimir, passed away in Novgorod and he was buried in St. George's monastery. This happened when his wedding was being arranged, his bride had been brought, the princes and boiars had assembled, and all things beautiful, sweet, vain and passing were prepared; and there was great lamentation and weeping.

The same year blessed Cyril, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, who by birth was a Greek from Nicea, passed away. He was erudite and was a great philosopher.

In the year 6742 [1234]. Pious Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich completed building the Church of St. Great Martyr George in the city of Iur'ev [in the Suzdalian land], and he adorned it more than other churches because inside, on all the walls of the church, images of the saints were beautifully carved in stone, and they remain there to the present day.

Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich marched with the Novgorodians against the Germans, against the city of Iur'ev,[51] and he camped shortly before the city. The Germans came out of the city of Iur'ev to guard it, and from Medvezh'ia Golova, and they fought with Iaroslav's hosts. Iaroslav with the levies of Novgorod did battle with them as far as the river Amozhiva, and the Germans fell on the river [breaking through the ice]. Many of them were drowned and others, wounded, escaped to the city of Iur'ev; still others, to Medvezh'ia Golova. They caused the Germans much harm near the city of Iur'ev, occupying their lands and towns, and burning them. Then the Germans petitioned Prince Iaroslav, who made peace with them, and he returned to Novgorod.

The same year the Lithuanians waged war at Rusa, even as far as Torzhok. Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich marched against them and slew many; the others fled.

In the year 6743 [1235]. Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Smolensk, grandson of Roman Rostislavich, with the Polovetss; Prince Mikhailo, son of Vsevolod Chermnyi, with the levies of Chernigov; and Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, with the levies of Novgorod, campaigned against Kiev and took it; and the Polovetss captured Grand Prince Vldimir Riurikovich of Kiev and took him to their land,[52] after he had ruled in the grand principal-

51. Iur'ev, now Tartu, in Estonia was founded by Iaroslav the Wise, whose Christian name was George, Iurii in Russian.

52. In 6742 (1234) in *Hyp.*

ity of Kiev for ten years. There they received ransom from him and let him return to Russia. After him, Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich of Novgorod assumed the throne of the grand principality of Kiev, while his son, Aleksandr, became prince in Novgorod.[53] **1236**

In the year 6744 [*1236*]. There was a great portent. On Sunday the sun disappeared over the entire land, becoming as small as a four-day old crescent.

The same year[54] Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich, grandson of Roman Rostislavich, [again] assumed the throne of the grand principality of Kiev.

[THE TATARS SUBJUGATE THE BULGARS.]

The same year the godless Tatars subjugated the entire Bulgar land, now called the land of Kazan'. They took their Great City and they slew everyone: men, women and children; and the others they took into captivity.

The same year Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich married his sons, Prince Vladimir and Prince Mstislav.

The same year a son, Gleb, was born to Grand Prince Vasil'ko Konstantinovich of Rostov.

The same year[55] Bishop Metrophanes erected an icon in the holy altar over the altar table of the Saviour in the city of Vladimir, and he adorned it beautifully with gold and silver. This was during the rule of Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich.

The same year[56] Bishop Metrophanes [of Vladimir] had images painted in the narthex of the Church of the Most Pure Theotokos.

The same year a metropolitan [for Kiev] came from Nicea named Joseph, a Greek.

PORTENT.

In the year 6745 [*1237*]. There was a portent on the sun and this portent was the following: from the west there was darkness on the sun, and the sun looked like a five-day old crescent moon. The east side was bright. Then the east side became covered with

53. In 6744 (1236) in *Laur.*

55. In 6745 (1237) in *Laur.*

56. In 6745 (1237) in *Laur.*

1237 darkness and it looked like a five-day old crescent moon, while the west side was bright. And so it happened, and there was fear and trembling among all those who saw this and heard of it.

The same year a great force of Germans came from beyond the sea to Riga, and they joined the people of Riga and of Pskov, then waged war against Lithuanian and campaigned actively; but the Lithuanians united and started fighting them. There was a great battle and the Lithuanians defeated the people of Pskov and the Germans, and so many people of Pskov, Germans and even some Novgorodians perished there that not even every tenth returned home.

THE INVASION BY BATU

In the year 6745 [1237].[57] The same winter the godless Tatars came from the eastern land through the forests against the land of Riazan', with their Khan Batu. When they came, they camped at Onoza, took it and burned it. From thence he sent his wife-sorceress, and with her two of his men, to the princes of Riazan', demanding from them a tithe from everything and everyone: from the princes and from the common men, of armour and of horses. The princes of Riazan', Iurii Ingvarevich and his brother, Oleg, as well as the princes of Murom and Pronsk, did not let them come to the city but marched against them toward Voronezh; and the princes announced to him, "When we shall no longer be here, all will be yours." From thence they—the Tatars—sent an envoy to Grand Prince Iurii in Vladimir and began warring in the land of Riazan', which they occupied as far as Pronsk. From Vladimir, Grand Prince Iurii sent their envoys to the Tatars in Voronezh.

Thereafter they [the Russian princes] began to assemble and marched toward them, toward Voronezh. They wanted to fight them there. They also sent their envoys to Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich, asking him for help against the godless Khan Batu. Prince Iurii Vsevolodich of Vladimir, however, did not come to their aid or send his forces, nor did he heed the entreaties of the princes of Riazan', because he wanted to do battle with them [with the Tatars] by himself. But it was vain to resist the wrath of God, because He brought it down upon us for our sins. And then there

57. In the year 6745 (1237) in *Laur.*; *Hyp.* In the year 6746 (1238) in *Novg. Syn.*

were bewilderment, threats, fear and trembling. The wisdom of **1237**
those who were able to do battle disappeared, and the hearts of the strong turned to womens' meekness. Therefore none of the Russian princes came to another's aid.

The princes of Riazan', Murom and Pronsk marched against the godless and did battle with them, and an evil massacre ensued. The godless Ishmaelites overcame them, and the princes fled to their own cities. The Tatars turned savage and started to campaign with great fury in the Riazan' land, destroying cities, slaying, burning and capturing people as far as Pronsk.

[RIAZAN' FALLS TO THE TATARS]

The accursed aliens came to the capital city of Riazan', and on the sixth day of December they besieged the capital city of Riazan' and built fortifications around it. The princes of Riazan' reinforced the city with their men and they fought courageously, becoming wearied. On the twenty first of the same month the Tatars took the city of Riazan' and burned everything, and they killed Grand Prince Iurii Ingvarevich, as well as his princess, and other princes and their men, wives, children, monks, nuns and priests. Some were hacked to pieces by swords, some were shot by arrows, and some were thrown into the fire; and some were bound, and they would cut out their breasts; some had their gall bladders taken out; others, they skinned; some, they stuck with needles and splinters under their nails; they defiled the nuns and the priests' wives, and the Grand Princesses and the boiars' wives; and they raped the women and virgins before their mothers and sisters. The bishop, however, was protected by God because he had departed the city that same year before the enemy hosts besieged it.

They set fire to many holy churches, monasteries and towns, and stole their possessions. Thereafter the Tatars marched to Kolomna. Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich sent against them from Vladimir his son, Vsevolod, and with him was Prince Roman Ingvarevich of Riazan', with his forces; and Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich also sent his voevoda, Eremei Glebovich, with a vanguard; and he met with Vsevolod and Roman Ingvarevich at Kolomna. And here they were attacked by the Tatars, and there was an evil slaying; the Tatars pushed them toward Nadolob,

1237 where Prince Roman Ingvarevich of Riazan' was killed, as well as voevoda Eremei Glebovich of Vsevolod Iur'evich. Only Prince Vsevolod with a small troop escaped to Vladimir.

The Tatars marched toward Moscow, which they took upon arriving, killed voevoda Filip Nian'ka, captured Vladimir, son of the grand prince, and killed everyone, from the old to the infants, and others they took into captivity; and then they marched away, having robbed the people of much wealth. When Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich heard of this he wept greatly with Bishop Metrophanes, with his princess, with his children and with his boiars, and he shed many tears. He went to the church, made the sign of the cross before the holy icon, embraced Bishop Metrophanes, his princess, his children and boiars; and there was such wailing in the city that it was impossible to see how the people could speak with each other in tears and lamentation. He left in his place in Vladimir Princes Vsevolod and Mstislav, with the bishop and with his voevoda, Petr Osliadiukovich. Then he marched toward the Volga with his nephews, Vasil'ko Konstantinovich, Vsevolod Konstantinovich and Vladimir Konstantinovich. He camped on the river Sit', awaiting the arrival of his brothers, Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich and Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, with their hosts. He, himself, began to assemble troops and turned the command over to Zhiroslav Mikhailovich.

[THE TAKING OF VLADIMIR]

In the meantime, on the third day of the month of February, Tuesday of Shrovetide, when Holy Simeon the God Receiver [Luke 2:25-32] is remembered, the Tatars came to Vladimir. The people of the city of Vladimir with their prince and with their voevoda, Petr Osliadiukovich, prepared the city for siege. The Tatars came to the Golden Gate, taking with them Prince Vladimir, the son of Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich, and began to ask, "Is Grand Prince Iurii in the city?" The people of Vladimir shot at them but the others—those Tatars—said, "Do not shoot;" and they approached the gates, showed them their young Prince Vladimir, son of Iurii, and asked, "Do you recognize your young prince?" He had an anguished face and was exhausted by misfortune and needs. His brothers, Vsevolod and Mstislav, sons of Iurii, and their voevoda Petr Osliadiukovich, who were standing

on the Golden Gate, as well as other people, recognized him and shed many tears upon seeing Vladimir. The Tatars retreated from the Golden Gate, rode around the city looking at everything and camped at Zremian' before the Golden Gate, as well as around the city; there was a great multitude of them. **1237**

Vsevolod and Mstislav, concerned for their brother, Vladimir, wanted to make a sortie against them and they said to the soldiers and to voevoda Petr, "Brethren! It is better to die before the Golden Gate for the Holy Theotokos and for the Orthodox faith than to be under those." Voevoda Petr, however, said, "Lord God has brought them against us because of our sins. It is God's punishment and who can oppose it? The Prophet said, 'Man has not enough wisdom, bravery or thought to do ought against God.' How can we make a sortie against them and resist such a multitude? It is better to stay in the city and resist them from here, as far as possible." They began to celebrate the church service, asking for help, and there was much wailing, shedding of tears and imploring of Lord God and His Most Pure Mother, Theotokos.

The Tatars built their camp around the city, which they besieged, while some others went to the city of Suzdal', which they took, and they burned the churches and monasteries, estates and towns, massacring some and capturing others. Thus perished the old and the young, abbots and priests, deacons, monks and nuns, the blind and the dumb; and some they massacred and some they captured and took with them, barefooted and without clothes; they died from the cold, and everyone trembled greatly. They brought many captives to their camps and they returned to the city of Vladimir on Saturday of Shrovetide.

Then they began to build scaling ladders and battering rams to break down the walls, and overnight they constructed a stockade around the entire city. On the morrow the princes, Lord Bishop Metrophanes, voevoda Petr Osliadiukovich and all the boiars and men saw that the city would be taken. They shed tears with great wailing and went to the cathedral church of the Most Pure Theotokos; and there the Grand Princess, her sons, daughters and her daughters-in-law, and all others who wanted, were tonsured to the angelic orders by Bishop Metrophanes. And there were great weeping, wailing and crying throughout the entire city. On the morrow, Sunday of Shrovetide, the eighth day of

1237 the month of February when Holy Martyr Theodore Stratilat is remembered, at the first hour of the day they approached the walls from all sides, and the catapults began to shoot against the walls and inside the walls, and stones fell from afar, God permitting. Stones fell as rain within the city and there were many dead in the city, and all were seized by fear and trembling. Then they—the Tatars—broke the wall down at the Golden Gate, as well as at the Gate of Irene near Lybed', at the Copper Gate and at the Latin Gate on the Kliazma. And they destroyed the whole fortress from all sides, and entered it like demons. They occupied the New City before dinner, set fire everywhere, and killed Prince Vsevolod with his brother, and a multitude of boiars and men, while the remaining princes and men escaped to the middle city.

In the meantime Bishop Metrophanes, the Grand Princess with her sons, daughters, daughters-in-law, grandchildren, boiars and the boiars' wives, and with many people, ran to the cathedral; having received the Holy Communion of Our God, Christ, they closed the doors of the church and went up to the choir loft, where they locked themselves up. The Tatars also took this part of the city and, searching for the princes and princesses, learned that they were in the church. They broke down the church doors and killed those who resisted them. At that time God-loving Bishop Metrophanes was standing and praying, and he said, "Our Lord God, Giver of Light, Who is on the throne with the cherubim, Who taught Joseph, Who strengthened David against Goliath, and Who resurrected Lazarus on the fourth day from the dead! Extend Thine unseen hand and accept with peace the souls of Thy servants." The Tatars began to torture the captives to learn where the princes and princesses were. Learning that they were in the choir loft, they cunningly asked them to come down from the choirloft; but they did not heed them. Then the Tatars brought a great amount of wood into the church, put it all about the church and set fire to it; and so they—the princes and princesses—with prayer and thanks to God, let their souls go to God, being burned up, and they joined the host of martyrs. The holy church was sacked and they even stole the valuables from the very miraculous icon of the Theotokos.

[BATTLE ON THE RIVER SIT']

From thence some [of the Tatars] marched against Grand

Prince Iurii and others marched toward Rostov, yet others marched toward the city of Iaroslavl'. They took them and marched to the Volga and to Gorodets[58] and occupied everything on the Volga up to Galich in Meria.[59] Then the others marched to Pereiaslavl', took that city and massacred the people. Marching further, they occupied the entire land and captured many cities: Iur'ev, Dmitrov, Volok and Tver', where they killed Iaroslav's son. They went as far as Torzhok, and there was not one single place where they did not campaign. Alone in the month of February, they occupied fourteen cities in the land of Rostov and Suzdal', not counting small towns and settlements. **1237**

When the month of February was coming to an end, an envoy came to Prince Iurii Vsevolodich and to his brother, Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, and to their nephews—Vasil'ko Konstantinovich, Vsevolod Konstantinovich and Vladimir Konstantinovich. He brought the message that the city of Vladimir was taken, that the bishop, the grand princess, the princes and all the people were either burned or massacred, and that "Your elder son, Vsevolod, with his brothers, were killed without the city, and they—the Tatars—are now marching toward you." When he, his brother and his nephews heard this they wept loudly, shedding tears, and there was great sadness, fear and trembling among all; and then he said, "Lord Almighty! How can this be done despite Thy love toward men? I know, however, that it has happened because of our sins, and the Lord's Will be done, And may God's Name be Blessed from now unto the ages! And why have I remained alive among these new martyrs? But Thou, God, let me suffer for Thy Holy Name, for the Christian faith and for our people, and include me in the number of these new martyrs."

He was awaiting his brother, Iaroslav, but the latter did not come, and so he ordered his voevoda, Zhiroslav Mikhailovich, to assemble the troops, encourage the men and prepare them to do battle. He sent the brave man, Dorofei Semenovich, with 3,000 men to learn where the Tatars were. He had gone barely a small distance when he returned, saying, "Lord Prince! We are already surrounded by the Tatars!"

58. Gorodets: a town beyond the Volga near Nizhnii Novgorod.

59. Meria: the former region of the Finnic tribe Meria, northeast of Kostroma.

1237 When Prince Iurii heard this, he and his brother, Sviatoslav, mounted their horses and marched against the pagans with his nephew, Vasil'ko, Vsevolod and Vladimir, and with his men. Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich began to align his regiments when suddenly the Tatars were already on the river Sit', advancing against Prince Iurii. Prince Iurii put aside his sadness and marched against them, and the two hosts clashed. There was a great battle and evil massacre, and the blood flowed like water. God permitting, the Tatars defeated the Russian princes, and there were killed Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich of Vladimir and many of his voevodas and boiars, and his host was annihilated. His nephew, Prince Vasil'ko Konstantinovich of Rostov, was taken captive by them, and they took him to their camps, which were near the forest of Sherensk. The accursed godless Tatars began to force Vasil'ko to live according to their pagan way and to fight on their side, but he would not accept their way or submit himself to their lawlessness, and he did not accept their food or their drink but told them the following: "Oh, you, dark and evil realm! You can not separate me from the Christian faith although I am in dire and evil misfortune. God has brought you against me because of my sins, but do not think that God loves you; and therefore He has turned us over into your unclean hands. But he has done this because He loves us and wants to give us eternal life. You, accursed ones, however, will have to answer to God for destroying many souls without reason. And those who were tortured by you will be with God for endless ages, and God will receive the souls of those whom you have massacred."

They gnashed their teeth because they wanted to be satiated with his blood; meanwhile, he shed tears, remembering the sins which he had committed earlier, and his face was anguished because of his lengthy captivity by the pagans. He raised his eyes toward Heaven and said, "Oh Lord, Thou knowest the secrets of my heart and Thou knowest all my thoughts. I rely upon Thy Mercy." And he mentioned other things secretly in his heart and, praying, said, "Lord Jesus Christ Almighty! Accept my soul so that I will be able to rest with Thy Glory."

THE MURDER [AND THE BURIAL] OF VASIL'KO KONSTANTINOVICH.

When he had said this, they mercilessly killed Prince Vasil'ko

Konstantinovich. This evil occurred on the fourth day of March, **1237**
Thursday of the fourth week of Lent; and he was included into the number of the martyrs.

When blessed Bishop Cyril was travelling from Belozero and brought with him warriors, he came to the place where Grand Prince Iurii was killed and he found his body, which he took up and carried to the city of Rostov. He chanted the customary burial hymns over his body and put it in a grave in the Church of the Holy Theotokos, shedding many tears, although he did not find his head among the corpses of the many dead.

The accursed ones, after killing Vasil'ko, threw his body into the forest. A certain God-loving woman called Maria saw it and she spoke of it to her likewise God-loving husband, Adrian Popovich. He picked up his body, covered it with a shroud and put it in a hidden place. Bishop Cyril and the wife of Prince Vasil'ko learned of this and they sent for his body. When his body was brought to the city of Rostov, a great multitude of people went to meet it, shedding tears of grief—the last consolation. There was great lamenting among the Orthodox people when they saw the father of the orphaned and their provider who loved them. He was a great consolation to the stricken people, who were grieved by the disappearance of his light-bearing star. The eyes of his heart were always open toward the clergy, toward the poor and the aggrieved, and he was their beloved father to them. He was always ready to give alms, remembering the words of the Lord, Who said, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." [Matt. 5:7] Solomon also said, "Sins are cleansed by alms and faith. Do not lose hope when you ask of God: Lord, save those who love Thee."

They brought him to the Church of the Holy Theotokos and buried him there, where his mother also was entombed; and because of the great wailing [during the funeral] it was impossible to hear the chanting. This Vasil'ko had a beautiful mien, bright eyes and a fearful demeanor, and he was courageous beyond all measure; he had a light heart, and those who served him, ate his bread and drank from his cup—such servants could never stay by or serve any other prince because they knew how he, Vasil'ko, loved them. He loved his servants; courage and mind abode in him; justice and truth followed him, and he was intelligent in

1237 every respect. When the head of Grand Prince Iurii was also brought thither, they put it by his body in the same casket. And thus ended their [Vasil'ko's and Iurii's] lives, by Divine decision, as you have heard.

[THE TATARS TAKE TORZHOK]

The other accursed Ishmaelites marched toward Torzhok. Arriving thither, they besieged the city from Zbor and they shot from their ballista for two weeks, and the people in the city became wearied, there being yet no help forthcoming from Novgorod. The people became discouraged and fearful, and so these pagans took the city of Torzhok and slew all—men and women, priests and monks—and everything was defiled by this horrible and inevitable death. They gave up their souls to God on the fifth of March of the week of the Veneration of the Cross. There were killed Ivanko, posadnik of Novyi Torzhok; Iakim Vlunkovich; Gleb Borisovich; and Mikhail Moiseevich. At that time the godless ones hurried from Torzhok to Ignach Krest by way of Sereger', and they cut down people like grass but they did not reach Novgorod, remaining only a hundred versts away from it; and so the city was protected by God and the Holy Theotokos.

[KOZEL'SK]

Batu marched from thence and came to the city of Kozel'sk, where there was a young prince named Vasil'ko. The people of Kozel'sk agreed not to surrender to Batu and they said to themselves, "Since our prince is young, let us give our lives for him: thus, we will here receive the glory of the world, while there we will receive Heavenly crowns from Christ God." The Tatars, wanting to take the city, fought by it, destroyed the city walls and mounted the earthen wall. There, the people of Kozel'sk set upon them with knives. Taking counsel, they came out of the fortress against them, attacked their hosts, destroyed their catapults, killed 4,000 Tatars and were, themselves, all killed. Batu took the city of Kozel'sk and killed everyone, having no mercy even for infants still at the breast. It is not known what happened to Prince Vasil'ko: some say that he was drowned in blood because he was young. Since that time the Tatars do not dare to call the city "Kozel'sk" but call it the "Evil City" because they were obliged to fight at that city for seven weeks. Three of their commanders of

t'ma,[60] sons of the grand princes of the Horde, were killed. The **1238**
Tatars searched for them but could not find them among the great multitude of corpses. Having taken Kozel'sk, Batu marched then into the Polovetsian prairie.

[GRAND PRINCE IAROSLAV OF VLADIMIR]

In the year 6746 [1238]. Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, brother of the late Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich, came from Great Novgorod to the Grand Principality of Vladimir, leaving his son, Prince Aleksandr, in Novgorod. Lord God and the Most Pure Theotokos saved him, as well as his eight sons—Aleksandr Nevskii, Andrei of Suzdal', Konstantin, Afanasii, Daniil, Mikhail, Iaroslav of Tver' and Vasilii—from the Tatars. His brother, Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, also remained alive with his son, Dmitrii. Other of his surviving kin were Ivan Vsevolodich, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii; his nephew, Prince Vladimir Konstantinovich, grandson of Vsevolod; Boris and Gleb, both sons of his nephew, Vasil'ko Konstantinovich of Rostov; and Vasilii, son of another of his nephews, Vsevolod Konstantinovich, of Rostov, also remained alive. Thus, altogether, fifteen princes survived [in Suzdalian Russia] after the Tatar debacle.[61]

60. "Commanders of t'ma": the Tatar word "t'ma" denotes an army corps of 10,000 warriors.

61. According to the chronicle's list, not fifteen but sixteen princes survived, descendants of Vsevolod Great Nest. Fifteen were in Suzdalian Russia while the sixteenth—Aleksandr, later called "Nevskii"—was in Novgorod. Besides Vsevolod's lineage, there remained alive quite a few princes of the other dynastic branches, those of Riazan', Murom, Chernigov, Volynia, Galicia, Smolensk, Polotsk and, probably, some independent tribal princes of the Viatichs. In terms of seniority, Vsevolod's descendants were: his great grandchildren, the children of Vasil'ko and grandchildren of Vsevolod's son, Konstantin: *Boris* of Rostov and *Gleb* of Belozero; *Vasilii*, the son of Vsevolod, grandson of Konstantin; and *Vladimir*, Konstantin's junior son. Vsevolod's grandsons, the sons of Iurii, all perished during the invasion. Other survivors were: *Iaroslav*, witheight sons, finally, two grandsons of Vsevolod, *Sviatoslav*, with his son, *Dmitrii*, and *Ivan* of Starodub (d. 1239), apparently childless. It was Iaroslav's line—represented by Aleksandr Iaroslavich Nevskii and his son, Daniil of Moscow, and by Iaroslav Iaroslavich of Tver'—that became decisive in internal Russian policy after the Tatar invasion and into the early fifteenth century.

1239 Iaroslav, son of Grand Prince Vsevolod Iur'evich, rebuilt the land of Suzdal'. He cleansed the churches of the corpses of the dead, buried their bones and consoled those who came to him, and gathered about him many people. There was great joy among the surviving Christians, that they had been saved by the strong hand of God from the godless Tatars. At that time Iaroslav gave the principality of Suzdal' to his brother, Sviatoslav; and to his other brother, Ivan, he gave the principality of Starodub; and he let each go to his own patrimony. Prince Boris Vasil'kovich, grandson of Konstantin, great grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, and gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, settled in Rostov. And his brother, Prince Gleb Vasil'kovich, went to rule in Belozero. The entire year continued quiet and peaceful from the Tatars.

After Iaroslav, Prince Mikhail of Chernigov, son of Vsevolod Chermnyi, ruled in the Grand Principality of Kiev.

In the year 6747 [1239]. Grand Prince Iaroslav sent to Rostov in order to bring to Vladimir the relics of his brother, Grand Prince Iurii Vsevolodich. When his body was brought to Vladimir, Iaroslav with his kin, Bishop Cyril with the entire clergy, and all the people, from the young to the old, met him, the people wailing so loudly that it was impossible to hear the clergy's chanting. So his body was borne to the Cathedral Church of the Holy Theotokos, where it was placed with many tears in the same grave in which his father, Grand Prince Vsevolod, was buried.

The same year[62] Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich of Novgorod [Nevskii] married the daughter of Prince Briacheslav of Polotsk, and the wedding took place in Toropets.

The same year Iaroslav marched to Kamenets, took the city and brought back the wife of Prince Mikhail with a great many captives.

The same year[63] Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich, together with the Novgorodians, built a fortress on the river Shalon'.

62. In 6747 (1329) in *Novg. Syn.*

63. In the year 6747 (1239) in *Novg. Syn.*

ABOUT BATU

1239 The same year[64] Batu started sending his hosts against the Russian cities. Those who were sent by Batu came and took the city of Archangel Michael, killed Bishop Simeon and stole all the golden and silver church vessels and gems, massacred the people, took others into captivity and burned the city.

The same year[65] Batu sent another host against Chernigov; it was a great force. When Prince Mstislav Glebovich, grandson of Sviatoslav Olgovich heard about this he marched against them with many of his warriors. A fierce battle and an evil slaughter ensued. From the walls they threw stones against the Tatars as far as one-and-a-half arrow shots—stones so large that it took four people to lift them; and still they threw them against them. But the Tatars won the battle and Mstislav Glebovich, grandson of Sviatoslav Ol'govich, escaped, while a great multitude of his warriors were killed there. They took the city and set fire to it, and captured alive Bishop Porphyrius, whom they took with them to Glukhov; from thence they let him go.

The same year Great Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, marched against the Lithuanians and he defeated them, protecting the people of Smolensk. And he assigned Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich, grandson of Roman Mstislavich, who was the brother-in-law of Iaroslav's late brother, Konstantin Vsevolodich, to be grand prince of the city of Smolensk.

The same year Batu's Tatars occupied the Mordva land and Murom, campaigning and capturing everyone along the river Kliaz'ma; and they stormed and occupied the town of Gorokhovets, which was part of the tithe of the Cathedral of the Most Pure Theotokos of Vladimir; and then they returned, with a great many captives.

The same year in Kideshko the church of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb was consecrated by Bishop Cyril of Rostov.

The same year Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich marched toward Kamenets, took the city and returned with a great many captives.

64. In the year 6745 (1237) in *Hyp.*
65. In 6745 (1237) in *Hyp.*

1240 The same year there was an evil panic throughout the entire land and everyone feared and trembled greatly, rushing hither and thither, not understanding whither they ran.

The same year Batu's Tatars came to the Riazan' land and occupied all of it.

[BATU TAKES KIEV]

In the year 6748 [1240].[66] Khan Batu sent his commander, Mongka Khan, to reconnoitre around the city of Kiev, and the latter marched forward and camped on the other side of the river Dnieper near the town of Pesochnaia. When he saw Kiev he marvelled at its beauty and majesty, and he said to himself and to those with him, "Verily, this is a wondrous place, and the city is beautiful and majestic. If its people knew the power and daring of Khan Batu they would submit to him, and this city and land would not be destroyed."

At that time on the throne of the grand principality of Kiev was Grand Prince Mikhail, son of Vsevolod of Chermnyi, grandson of Sviatoslav, great grandson of Oleg, gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir.

Mongka Khan[67] sent to him, saying, "If you want to preserve this city and save it, come, submit yourselves and bow to our Khan Batu. I advise you so to do, as a good friend." And Grand Prince Mikhail Vsevolodich answered, "You know, yourself, that Khan Batu has his own faith, whereas I belong to the pious Christian faith of Christ. And since one faith is not a friend of another one, I do not want to submit to and obey Khan Batu; and what manner of friendship can there be between you and me? The Apostle Paul teaches, 'Do not consort with infidels because the truth should not consort with lawlessness.' It is the mingling of light and darkness; it is as a concord between Christ and the devil. How can a faithful man be in accord with an infidel, and what manner of communion can there be between the Divine Church and idols"

When Mongka Khan heard this, he became wrathful and his people told him, "It does not become you to be wrathful; rather, send people to him cunningly, and if you are cunning with him,

66. Also in *Hyp.*, *Laur.* and *Novg. Syn.* under the same year.

67. Mongka Khan, son of Tului, grandson of Chenghiz Khan; Mongol Great Khan from 1251-1259.

you can get him and punish him." Mongka Khan sent his envoys **1240**
to him, saying cunningly, "I must tell you something. Come to
me." But he [Prince Mikhail Vsevolodich] killed the envoys and
escaped from the city of Kiev, following his son and fleeing from
the Tatars to Hungary.[68] The Tatars followed him but could not
catch up with him; but they captured many people. With these
many prisoners, Mongka Khan went to Khan Batu.

The same year Prince Rostislav Mstislavich of Smolensk,
grandson of Davyd of Smolensk, having heard what had hap-
pened to Prince Mikhail Vsevolodich, went to Kiev and settled
there; but Daniil Romanovich, grandson of Mstislav Iziaslavich,
marched against him and gave Kiev to his tysiatskii, Dmitrii, in
order to protect it and to be prepared against the Tatars.

The same year Khan Batu came to Kiev with many troops
and encircled the city. The Tatar forces besieged it so that no one
could either enter or leave the city. Those who were within the
city could not hear each other because of the creaking of wheels
and the din of the camels, the blowing of trumpets and the sound-
ing of organs, the neighing of horses and the hue and clamor of
innumerable people; and the entire land was filled with Tatars. At
that time the people of Kiev caught a Tatar named Tavrula and
he told them how many great khans were with them and how
numerous their forces were. Here were his [Batu's] great and
powerful commanders: Urdu, Baidar, Birui, Kaidan, Bechak,
Mongka and Kiuiuk.[69] But he [Batu] retreated when he learned
of the death of the Great Khan. The Great Khan[70] was not a
kinsman of Batu's but Batu was his main and great commander.
Batu lamented him because he was very much liked by him. The
other commanders and great nobles were Bular, Aidar, Kilemet,
Burudai and Batyr, who occupied the lands of the Bulgars and of
Suzdal'. With him was an endlessly vast number of commanders.[71]

68. Prince Michael returned to Russia, but his sons remained as feudal princes in Southern Hungary, in the part of Banat called Machva.

69. These names have been corrected according to *Hyp.* In *Nik.* there is another Tatar commander named Kailug. The story of the taking of Kiev in *Nik.* follows the *Hyp.* text.

70. Ugedei, who resided in Mongolia.

71. In *Hyp.* only Subedei Bogatyr' and Burundai Bogatyr' are mentioned.

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1240 Batu put near the Polish Gate many wall-battering rams and catapults because on that side of the fortress of Kiev there was a ravine. Many of these catapults struck uninterruptedly day and night; but the citizens fought them vigorously and many were killed, the blood was flowing like water. And Batu sent to Kiev to its citizens, saying, "If you will submit to me, there will be mercy shown you. If you resist, you will greatly suffer and perish evilly." The citizens, however, did not listen to him but only cursed and abused him. Batu became very angry and ordered that the city be attacked very fiercely. Since many wall-battering rams had destroyed the city walls, they entered the city, but the citizens rushed against them. There could be seen and heard the clashing of lances and clanging of shields, and the arrows flew so thickly that one could not see the sky. It was dark because of the multitude of the Tatar arrows, and the dead lay everywhere, and everywhere blood flowed like water.

Voevoda Dmitrii was badly wounded and many strong men fell. The citizens were defeated and the Tatars climbed up the walls. Wearied, they remained on the city walls till nightfall, and during that night the citizens built other fortifications around the church of the Holy Theotokos. The next morning the Tatars came and there was an evil slaying there, and the people were exhausted. They fled into the church choirloft with their goods, and from their weight the church walls collapsed; and so the Tatars took Kiev on the sixth day of the month of December, when the Holy Miracle Maker Nicholas is remembered. Voevoda Dmitrii was brought, wounded, to Batu, who ordered that he not be killed because of his courage! Then Batu began to question him about Prince Daniil and he was told that Prince Daniil had escaped to Hungary.

Batu assigned his own commander to Kiev and, himself, marched to Vladimir in Volynia. He arrived at the city of Kolodiazhen[72] and placed twelve of his wall-battering rams there; but he could not destroy the city walls, so he commenced to flatter the people and they, heeding his evil counsel, surrendered to him and they were all killed. From thence he marched to Iziaslav's city of Kamenets, which he took with his battering rams, destroying its walls. From thence he went to Daniil's city of Kremenets but could

72. Now the town Kolodiazhno in Volynia.

not take it because of the strength of the fortress.[73] Then he marched to the city of Vladimir [in Volynia], which he took and he killed everyone, showing no mercy to a single person. From thence he marched to Galich, whose walls he destroyed with his battering rams and took the city. From thence he went to Cherven',[74] destroyed the walls with his battering rams and took it; but why should we count them all? One after another, he occupied a numberless multitude of Russian cities and he subjugated everyone and placed his administrators everywhere. **1240**

Daniil's voevoda, Dmitrii told Batu, "You should not lose time on this land because you need to go to Hungary. If you stay here, then they will assemble such forces against you that they will be able to keep you out of their land." He said this because he saw that Russia was perishing at the hands of the impure ones. Batu followed Dmitrii's counsel and marched to Hungary, where Kings Bela and Koloman met him at the Solona river. There was a great battle there and an evil massacre, and the Hungarians were defeated and King Koloman was killed. But King Bela, although he was badly wounded, escaped and the Tatars pursued him to the Danube river. He remained there for three years, and they campaigned there up to Moldavia and to the lake [Balaton *a.o.*] and then they returned to their prairie, to their own land, after having captured and subjugated all countries.[75]

The same year a daughter, Maria, was born to Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich.

73. In *Nik.*: to Kamenets of Iziaslav, and thence to Kremenets. Corrected after *Hyp.*

74. Chervenets in *Nik.*

75. This text is close to *Hyp.*, year 6749 (1241).